alestine: Is There a Solution?

A Discussion by
MAURICE SAMUEL
and
PAUL NOVICK

SPAIN: The Second Guadalajara

A Cable from
JOSEPH NORTH

Inside Fascist Italy–II

MARGARETA WEST

Coalition in Ohio

TED COX

Educated Man's Daughter

C. DAY LEWIS

S. J. Perelman Batting for Robert Forsythe

Cartoons by Gropper, Colin Allen, Richter, and Others

ON THE COVER
Benito Mussolini
TURN TO PAGE 11

AUG. 9, 1938

FIFTEEN CENTS

New MASSES

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Between Ourselves

HE New York *Times* has finally gotten around to running what rports to be a review of Gran-le Hicks' *I Like America.* The viewer showed admirable objectiv- in listing the title, publisher, and page numbers. Having ..e such a concession to the ordi-ry decencies of reviewing, he pro-eded to discuss a book which man-ged to bear a faint resemblance to the one written by Mr. Hicks. What most concerned the reviewer of the book which "Points Out the Road to Moscow" was the possibility that *Like America* would "scandalize the more earnest comrades . . . old-guard comrades who pant for the elimination of the middle class and all it names, such as bourgeoisie." Ve are delighted to learn that the *'imes* is so concerned about Mr. Hicks' standing with his comrades, nd we are somewhat flabbergasted to discover how anxious it is to make him stick to the line. But we recall that the book was written as a challenge to millions of middle-class Americans and not as a challenge to the Communist Party. We are still looking for a review in a middle-class paper which will dare to take ip that challenge. The intellectual bankruptcy of the Red-baiters is never nore clearly revealed than when they begin to worry about the Marxian 'correctness" of a Communist's po-sition.

While the capitalist press wages virtual boycott against *I Like America,* Mr. Hicks continues to re-eive voluminous correspondence from eaders of the book. The contrast is triking. Readers have raised inter-esting questions in an honest spirit of nquiry. We feel that these questions Mr. Hicks' answers should be ailable to the readers of NEW ... We are therefore planning ry a series of discussions by .nville Hicks based on the letters has been receiving. The first of ne series will appear in next week's sue.

Among other material in forth-oming issues:

An article on Spain by Jay Allen scheduled for next issue).

An article by Rockwell Kent, new-y elected president of the Artists Jnion, on the artist as a trade union-st.

Four new full-page drawings by uis Quintanilla, the famous Spanish rtist.

An article on Father Michael O'Flanagan, "the most faithful priest iat ever lived in Ireland," whose otable address at Madison Square arden we published last week. ora MacAlbert has written this ar-cle on the basis of interviews with ather O'Flanagan.

/hat's What

AST week in "Between Ourselves" we mentioned a postcard sent us Mrs. M. M. Albach, of Newark, J. Mrs. Albach drew our attention a swastika printed on the address le of the card, mentioned the manu-cturer's name, and suggested that e give the firm "a little adverse blicity." This week we received a postcard from Sam Mittelman, of Scranton, Pa., made by the same firm, O'Reilley's, of Kingston, N. Y., but this time the swastika has been ob-literated by a circular spot of black ink. Mr. Mittelman suggests that we retract our criticism, and we hereby do so, hoping, of course, that the ob-literation was motivated by "Between Ourselves."

The "I Like America" drive for twenty thousand new readers of NEW MASSES is gathering momentum. As it gets under way we hear from the state secretary of the Communist Party in Texas. He asks for two hundred publicity folders (contain-ing the statement of the editors that appeared two weeks ago in NEW MASSES) and also for subscription blanks. The interest in the drive has been widespread in Texas, where people want to know what is hap-pening in the rest of America and in the world.

Now we'd like to hear from other states. So far, the Far West has not been heard from. And the Middle West too. Drop us a line and we will send subscription blanks and folders.

Norman Rosten, whose "Fragment for America" appeared in the July Literary Section, tells us that his verse radio play is going over the blue network of the National Broadcasting Co. sooner than was expected. The date is Saturday, August 6, between 8:30-9 p.m. over station WJZ. . . . The author describes his play (entitled *Death of a King*) as a "politi-cal allegory with a long historic shadow, and teeth in it," written in an experimental verse form. He hopes NEW MASSES readers will lend their ears for the occasion, and if they like it, tell NBC they like plays other than the love and kisses variety.

Who's Who

MAURICE SAMUEL is the author of many books on Palestine, among them, *On the Rim of the Wilderness; Conflict in Palestine,* and *What Happened in Palestine; The Events of August 1929.* . . . Paul Novick is associate editor of the *Jewish Morning Freiheit* and author of the pamphlet *Zionism Today.* He was in Palestine in 1932. . . . Joseph North is NEW MASSES correspondent in Spain. . . . The first of Margareta West's two articles in Italy appeared in the July 26 issue of NEW MASSES. . . . Ted Cox has written for NEW MASSES before. He is Cleveland cor-respondent for the Federated Press. . . . C. Day Lewis' most recent novel to be published in this country is *Starting Point.* . . . Morris U. Schappes is a member of the English department at the College of the City of New York. . . . Ruth McKenney's *My Sister Eileen* was reviewed last week in NEW MASSES, by James Dugan. . . . Barbara Giles is a member of the staff of NEW MASSES.

Flashback

ON Aug. 9, 1920, at an emergency meeting of the parliamentary committee of the Trade Union Con-gress, the national executive of the Labor Party, and the Parliamentary Labor Party, a resolution was adopt-ed declaring: "That this joint con-ference feels certain that war is be-ing engineered between the allied powers and Soviet Russia, on the is-sue of Poland, and declares that such a war would be an intolerable crime against humanity. It therefore warns the government that the whole indus-trial power of the organized workers will be used to defeat this war." On the following day, the London *Times,* realizing that the game was up, de-clared: "Nobody in this country wants a war with Soviet Russia. The whole feeling of the nation, which is weary of war, is dead against any such sug-gestion." . . . With only one mem-ber dissenting the executive council of the AF of L voted to suspend ten unions unless they gave up member-ship in the CIO. "An act dictated by personal selfishness and frantic fear. It indicates a total absence of con-sideration for the well-being of the nation's workers and the requirements of an effective movement of labor," said John L. Lewis, on that occasion, two years ago this week.

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best results.

Published weekly by WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC., at 31 East 27th Street, New York City. Copyright, 1938, WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC., Reg. U. S. Patent Office. Drawings and text may *not be reprinted without permission.* Entered as second-class matter, June 24, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies, 15 cents Subscription $4.50 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mexico. Six months $2.50; three months $1.25; Foreign $5.50 a year; six months $3; three months $1.50. In Canada, $5 a year, $2.75 for six months. Subscribers are notified that no change in address can be effected in less than two weeks. The NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped and self-addressed envelope.

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IS THERE A SOLUTION FOR PALESTINE?

A Zionist Supports the Proposal for Partition

MAURICE SAMUEL

In an effort to clarify the issues and to compare conflicting viewpoints on one of the most pressing problems of our time, NEW MASSES *asked Maurice Samuel and Paul Novick, whose article follows on page 5, to state their respective solutions for Palestine. Both writers were given the further opportunity to comment on each other's article and these comments follow on pages 7 and 8. We invite our readers to send us their reactions to these articles and comments. Representative letters will appear in an early issue.*—THE EDITORS.

THE conflict between Jews and Arabs in Palestine is one between two nationalisms and two disparate economies; to some extent it is inherent in the divergent ambitions of the two peoples, to some extent it is artificially stimulated by a confused and inept British imperialism on the one hand, by skillful Italian intrigue on the other. If there is a solution of the problem, it must be looked for in the respective economic structures of Arab and Jewish life and in the real dynamic forces at play; plans for an accommodation based on nothing more than good wishes and high ideologies are of no value.

The Jewish economy in Palestine is Western, that is, highly capitalist and highly proletarian. The Arab economy is still largely feudal. The Jewish standard of living is based on European concepts; the Arab standard is Asiatic. Ninety percent of the Jewish workers (over 100,000 in number) are organized in the Jewish Labor Federation. Eighty percent of the Arabs are *fellahin* working their own or leased lands, or nomads. Out of a population of over 900,000 Arabs perhaps forty thousand may be regarded as urban workers susceptible (but still incapable) of the same type of organization as the Jews. Practically all the Jewish workers, whether in the cities or on the farms, whether living in communes, participating in cooperatives, or hiring themselves out, are full-time workers. A large proportion of Arab workers are seasonal workers only, with plots of land cultivated by themselves and their families.

The labor struggle between the Jews and the Arabs, the most important single factor standing in the way of a rapprochement from below, cannot be resolved until there is a certain homogeneity of economic structure. The Jewish fight against Arab labor—mitigated by occasional, spasmodic efforts to organize Arab labor—has been only in part the effort to maintain Jewish positions for Jewish immigrants pressing frantically for admission to the country. It has also been in part the struggle to prevent the Jewish standard of living from being pressed down to the Arab level. Jewish employers did not engage Arab workers by the thousands in their orange groves in order to create an understanding with the Arabs, but for the simpler reason that Arabs worked for two-thirds and sometimes for half of the wages of Jewish workers.

There are two ways of creating a relative homogeneity of economic structure. One is to suspend Jewish immigration, leaving the Jews as a permanent minority to be gradually forced *downward* into the Arab economy. The Arabs outnumber the Jews by two to one. There is an immense reservoir of cheap indigenous labor among the Arabs. In time the Jews would come down to the Asiatic level of the Jews of Yemen and Irak, leaving a few survivors among the possessing class.

The other way is to create an area within which a Jewish majority can absorb an Arab minority *upward* into the Jewish economy. If this were feasible, it would be desirable. It is not feasible.

If Jewish immigration into Palestine could be maintained at the level of fifty thousand a year for the next twenty years, the population of Palestine (allowing for natural increase on both sides) would be half Arab, half Jewish. But the exacerbation of national passions has reached a stage which makes such immigration, for such a long period, practically impossible. Continuous outbreaks of violence will not prevent the influx of Jews who would rather face the dangers and hardships of Palestine than the certainty of extinction in Germany and Poland; but these outbreaks lower the absorptive capacity of the country—as it is, in fact, intended that they should. Moreover, the longer the period of time which elapses before stabilization, the deeper the hostility and the more difficult the stabilization.

There is at present, as the British Royal Commission has pointed out, an area within which the Jews are already a majority; it comprises roughly some 2,500 square miles. It contains about 325,000 Jews to some 300,000 Arabs. This is not yet, for the purposes of economic absorption *upward,* an effective majority. Jewish immigration into Palestine has for the most part tended to concentrate within this area, and continues to show the same tendency. In that area there can be created, in the course of seven or eight years, an independent state with a Jewish majority capable not only of resisting the perpetual downward pull of Arab life, but of counteracting it, and raising the minority to its own level.

There is no solution of the Arab-Jewish problem which has not to face a transitional period of unrest, a continuation of what is taking place today. But the creation of conditions promising ultimate stability *within a reasonable stretch of time,* and on the basis of actualities, is what the partition proposal, as above outlined, envisages.

Within such a state, where the political, economic, and social outlook is dominated by the higher living conditions and the Western training of the Jews, there can be an opportunity to create a stable and progressive society; but as a minority the Jews cannot force through, on the Palestinian population as a whole, their plans for the control of capitalist

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enterprise, for labor legislation, for social welfare. The nationalist struggle becomes, in Arab hands, an instrument for the blocking of all progressive efforts threatening the feudal structure of the country.

Is such a state, with an ultimate population of one and a half to two millions, three-quarters or four-fifths Jewish, practical and feasible? This issue can be debated ad infinitum. Those who have seen the extraordinary achievements of the Jews in Palestine till now, believe in its possibility. In any case, my impression, after ten years of partial residence in and continuous contact with Palestine, is that the Jews are ready to try. They would continue, for this purpose, to receive the help of Jews throughout the world.

This partition solution of the Arab-Jewish problem is opposed by two groups among the non-Zionist Jews:

1. Bourgeois assimilationists, who want Zionism to be a total political failure so that they shall not be embarrassed by the existence anywhere in the world of a permanent and identifiable Jewish body politic.

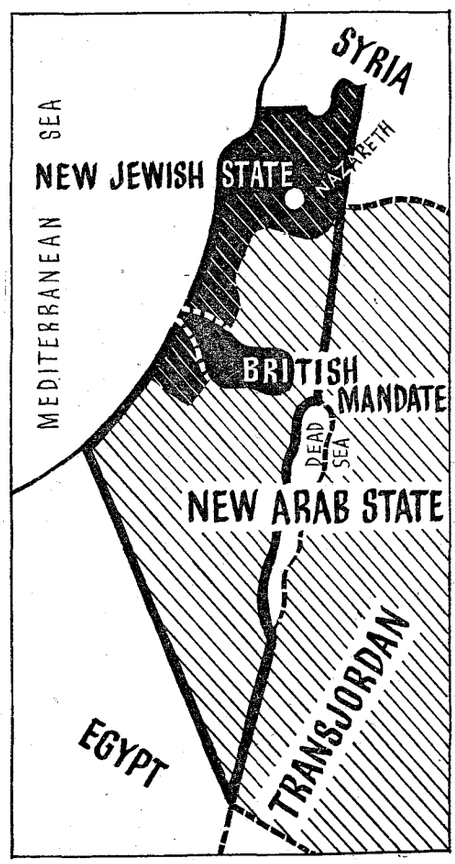
2. Communists, who want the liquidation of Zionism because they object to the deflection of Jewish attention, in any country, away from the local class struggle and toward the creation of a Jewish homeland.

The grounds of opposition are, in both these cases, irrelevant to the Arab-Jewish problem in Palestine; and in examining the proposals of both the bourgeois assimilationists and the Communists, care should be taken to distinguish between the real impulse behind the proposals (furtherance of assimilation or pursuit of Communist strategy) and their ostensible purpose, i.e., the accommodation of the Arab-Jewish quarrel.

The partition solution is also opposed by two groups among Zionists and semi-Zionists: (1) the bitter-enders; (2) the pacifist-defeatists (mostly clerical-academic). In the case of (1) the demand is still for the complete fulfillment of the mandate; in the case of (2) the proposal, like that of the Communists (and bourgeois assimilationists) is that the Jews shall attempt to reach a direct understanding with the Arabs by first agreeing to accept a permanent minority status.

Insofar as this last proposal deals with Palestine realities, its proponents make several claims for it. First, that it will lead to an Arab-Jewish alliance, and at last make possible effective action against British imperialism. Second, and as a corollary of the first, that it will checkmate the intrigues of the Italian fascists, posing today among the Palestinian Arabs (and others) as the "defenders of Arab liberty." Third, that it will counteract the growth of fascism among Jews and Arabs alike. As their strongest objection to the partition plan, they cite the difficulty of creating and maintaining a small Jewish state which, containing an Arabia *irredenta,* will be a constant source of friction and a tempting basis for further intrigue.

This objection alone is valid, while the three affirmations are, I believe, founded on illusions. But let us see whether this objection is not more than offset by similar, graver difficulties inherent in the plan to make of the Jews a permanent minority. The existence of a Jewish minority population occupying a different economic level and constituting a different, more progressive economic structure, than the Arabs, is in itself an excellent opportunity for the intrusion of outsiders with their own game to play. Behind the nationalist struggle in Palestine, and coextensive with it, is the struggle between the dying feudal order and the emergent bourgeois order. The Jews are the spearhead of the change, which is proceeding in Palestine more rapidly than in any other backward country. But together with the introduction of modern capitalism, the Jews are responsible for a feature which was absent from the first introduction of capitalism elsewhere: namely, a parallel and powerful labor movement and labor ideology, namely, in the Histadruth. The transition among the Arabs would, if left to itself, proceed more slowly, and would be attended by the worst features of Oriental capitalism. Thus, in reality, there is a double struggle; the Arab landowners want to retain as many feudal features in the country as they can. The slowly emergent Arab bourgeoisie (which owes its very inception to the presence of the Jews) wants to keep capitalist development in Palestine what it was in Europe a hundred years ago. The nationalist fight against the Jews serves both purposes,



The Partition of Palestine Proposed by the British Commission

and masks for the time being the internal struggle among the Arabs.

There is an instructive parallelism between Italian intervention in Palestine (for it is not less than that) and German-Italian intervention in Spain. It was not militarist strategy alone which led to these adventures. In both Spain and Palestine the foreign fascist powers find their natural allies in the landowning aristocracy (in Palestine the *effendis*) and the primitive capitalists. In both countries they attempt to inject the religious issue in an attack on the modernizing elements which they fear and hate. In both countries this attempt has been attended only by partial success; the religious anti-Jewish motif is dying out among the Arabs, as it is, in the case of Spanish loyalists, beginning to break among the Catholics. This although the Grand Mufti (head of the big landowning Husseini clan) attempted to revive pan-Moslem anti-Zionism by stating before the Royal Commission that the Jews had designs on the Mosque of Omar. In Palestine, as in Spain, the accusation against the liberalizing elements is that they are all Communists; this was for years the chief substance of Arab propaganda against the Jews.

But it happens that in Palestine the liberalizing elements are almost exclusively Jewish; Arab social development has not yet reached a stage at which a modern, class-conscious, liberalizing element of significant dimensions can emerge. Hence, intervention in Palestine must take the form of an ostensible pro-Arab ideal, and help in suppressing Jewish immigration and initiative. *This game can be played better in a Palestine which contains a liberalizing Jewish minority than in a state in which an Arab minority is drawn upward into a progressive Jewish economy.*

The revealing parallel goes much further than we can pursue it here. It is enough to mention the role of England, as dubious and shifty in Palestine as it is in Spain, and dictated by a similar confusion of motives issuing with changing force from class impulses and fears for the empire.

It is true that the creation of a Jewish state will create other opportunities for intrigue. But the existence of any state with a minority is bound up with such possibilities. The question we must face is whether there is not a much more reasonable hope of minimizing these opportunities by the creation of homogeneous *upward* economy than by intensifying and prolonging the complex economic struggle in Palestine as a whole, *with the progressive elements placed at a fatal disadvantage.*

Let us now take the three affirmative reasons given for leaving the Jews as a permanent minority in Palestine.

The belief that the Jews, outnumbered and outvoted by the Arabs, will be permitted to live in peace is, to one familiar with the character of the struggle in Palestine, fantastic. Not only will Jewish immigration be permanently suspended, but there will begin a tre-

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mendous pressure to force the Jews out. Already Arab leaders have declared, over and over again, that "there are too many Jews in the country," a sinister and familiar slogan.

The Grand Mufti, who is the nominal leader of the revolt against the Jewish homeland, but who is backed by extremists even more anti-Jewish than he, revealed the Arab attitude bluntly before the Peel Commission.

Question: Does His Eminence think that this country can assimilate the 400,000 Jews in the country?

Answer: No.

Question: Some of them would have to be removed by a process kindly or painful as the case may be?

Answer: We must leave all this to the future.

But the pressure against the Jews will be downward as well as outward. Far from arresting the growth of fascism, the situation will encourage in the Arabs the fascism of conquest, in the Jews the fascism of despair.

At the present time Jewish fascism in Palestine is insignificant in numbers (though capable of much mischief) for a number of reasons, internal and external. The struggle to maintain the higher social level is bound up with a generally progressive economic ideology. Jewish immigration cannot proceed on the basis of a backward economy. A progressive economic ideology inevitably implies a progressive ideology.

Further, Jewish Palestine draws its support from a world Jewry which is predominantly anti-fascist. That support is linked up with the possibilities of sending into Palestine large numbers of Jewish refugees, who in turn bring in a renewal of anti-fascist ideology as well as generally higher economic and political standards. If immigration possibilities into Palestine are destroyed, then Palestine will be deprived of vital moral and economic assistance; the Jewish community, declining gradually into an Asiatic minority, will lose contact with the Western world. It will then be as useful for lifting the level of the country, or any part of it, as the wretched Jewish minority in Yemen. On the other hand, if the Jews are to be assured even of physical safety, it will again be with the assistance of England. What hope, then, that under these circumstances they will be able to contribute in a fight against British imperialism?

The attempt to reach an Arab-Jewish understanding must be preceded by the attempt to create the common economic basis of such an understanding. In the absence of such a basis, talk of understanding is dangerous wishful thinking.

The path of the proposed Jewish state is definitely not an easy one. But there are hundreds of thousands of Jews within Palestine, and hundreds of thousands waiting outside of Palestine, willing to take it. As against this, the proposal for a permanent minority position is a death sentence against the Jewish community of Palestine, and an indefinite postponement of the prospect of an anti-imperialist bloc—all in the name of Arab-Jewish peace.

PEACE BY UNDERSTANDING

A Communist Rejects the Partition of Palestine

PAUL NOVICK

TWELVE Jews were murdered in Palestine on July 21. Before that, a bomb was thrown into a crowd of Arabs in Jerusalem, killing nine and wounding more than a score. Before that, Jews driving in an automobile on one of the streets of Haifa were set upon and murdered, amongst them the brother-in-law of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization. This and other acts of murder and terror in Haifa came in retaliation to a bombing outrage in that city, during which many Arabs were killed and wounded.

In the course of ten days between July 5 and July 15, sixty-six Arabs and twenty-nine Jews were killed, 176 Arabs and 101 Jews were wounded. Usually, Jewish casualties are the more numerous.

The present bloodshed is but an episode in a situation which has prevailed in Palestine for years. The bloody toll has been particularly high since the mass Arab outbreaks of April 1936.

When blood is being shed, it is hard to talk of past mistakes and future plans. When a Jewish settlement is in danger of attack, it must protect itself. It cries out against terroristic attacks. When passengers traveling in an Arab bus are sniped at, they want the guilty caught and rendered harmless. Terrorism is the plague of the country. There are burning hatreds abroad, the result of deep-set grievances and wrongdoings, as well as the result of a violent nationalism and chauvinism. Imperialist and fascist agents have been busy sowing discord and hatred. The mere fact that Jews and Arabs travel in separate buses is an indication of the sad state of affairs. Yet, *because* of the acute seriousness of the situation, a solution for Palestine is one of the paramount issues of the day.

During the past twenty years, something basic in Palestine's position has made for national strife and bloodshed, although for generations before, Jews and Arabs had lived together peacefully. That "something" is the policy of British imperialism, of Arab leadership, and of political Zionism. These must be renounced if peace is to be attained.

A time has come when even British Royal Commissions are forced to admit things which they would not admit before. The Peel Commission, in its report issued July 8, 1937, after months of investigation in Palestine, has admitted that the Balfour Declaration of Nov. 2, 1917, promising a Jewish national home in Palestine, "was determined by the exigencies of war . . . in order to enlist the Jewish support for the Allies" (p. 24). It admits that promises were made by Britain both to the Arabs and the Jews. It admits that the British mandate over Palestine, which was supposed to be the instrument for the establishment of the Jewish national home, is unworkable. It admits that at bottom an Arab rebellion is taking place in Palestine, a struggle for self-government.

Thus, the designs of British imperialism on Palestine and the sinister use which it has made of Jews and Arabs are now openly recognized. London's Chatham House, the unofficial forum of the British Colonial Office, admitted as much in its Information Department Paper No. 20, *(Great Britain and Palestine 1915-1936)*. This study states that Palestine "is a vital problem for Great Britain. . . . It is the eastern outpost against any potential threat to the Suez Canal; it is the outlet of the oil pipe line from Mosul; it is the halting place on the international air route to India and beyond, and it is a starting point towards the desert motor road to Asia" (p. 9). One may add it is Britain's only stretch of coast on the Asiatic mainland facing the inflammable waters of the Mediterranean. "Augur," the New York *Times* correspondent in London, another mouthpiece of the Colonial Office, divulged some time ago (New York *Times,* Jan. 19, 1936) that "The [British] air force, even more than the navy, needs solidly established bases. . . . In that part of the world [Near East] they exist only in Palestine. . . . In the seat of the native population of Arabia the Palestinian Jews stand isolated, an outpost of Europe, and, if rightly handled, an element of strength for the empire. . . . Military experts say a Jewish militia of fifty thousand men may be a reality tomorrow." That this was not a mere guess was subsequently shown by a statement from Mrs. Edgar Dugdale, niece and biographer of the late Lord Balfour, author of the Balfour Declaration, to Webb Miller of the United Press about eight months ago. According to Mr. Miller's dispatch of Dec. 21, 1937, Mrs. Dugdale, who must have known the sentiments and intentions of Lord Balfour, stated: "Palestine is a key point of imperial communications and a key point to the Near East as far as 'power' [military] politics on the Mediterranean is concerned. If a Jewish state were founded we might expect that within the next ten years two million

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Jewish young men and women would settle in the country. Out of that number it is not impossible to expect the formation of a national defense force of fifty thousand men."

Clearly, it was and is the design of British imperialism to use Jewish and Arab blood in order to conquer and control Palestine as a military outpost of the British empire. Clearly, British imperialism exploited the age-old craving of the Jewish people for statehood and the profound sentiment of religious and other Jews for Palestine in order to attain its own ends. A persecuted, hounded, and pogromized people was promised liberation and self-rule as a means of extracting from this people more blood and material resources and manpower to build a strategic base for the empire.

It is by no means my intention to emphasize the role of "perfidious Albion" solely to justify a position taken years ago, important as that may be. Recognition of the role of British imperialism is of *immediate* importance. Once the designs and machinations of British imperialism are recognized, the basic fault in the tragic Palestine situation can be understood. It likewise has to be recognized that all Jews and Arabs who strive for peace must renounce and fight British imperialism as the main enemy of the population of Palestine. It is British imperialism's policy of "Divide and rule" which has set the country on fire. Those Arab and Jewish leaders who have based their policies on British domination of Palestine, have been at fault. Without a recognition of these basic elements a solution is impossible.

The time has come for the leadership of the Zionist movement to admit that it was a tragic mistake (if not worse) to accept and proclaim Balfour's tricky declaration as the Magna Carta for the Jewish people. Now that a part of this leadership, foremost among whom is Dr. Weizmann, admits that the mandate, that other imperialist document, is unworkable and that it failed to fulfill the widely heralded hopes placed upon it, it is time to admit that *any other* British imperialist scheme will not fulfill the aims of Zionism but will only result in more strife and disturbances.

This applies to the plan to partition the small land of Palestine (ten thousand square miles, about the size of Vermont) into three parts. One-tenth (including Jerusalem) is to be kept permanently by Britain under a new mandate. Two-tenths, two thousand square miles or somewhat more (about the size of Delaware), is to be developed into a Jewish state, with the cities of Haifa, Safed, and Acre "temporarily" kept by Britain.

The purpose of this scheme was candidly outlined by Lord Balfour's niece.

On the other hand, leaders of the Arab movement have been playing with fascism and have accepted the assistance and guidance of Mussolini and Hitler. This is particularly true of some Arabian puppet rulers, from Hedjaz and other Arab countries, who heretofore served Great Britain. The Arab people will clearly not attain liberation with the aid of Nazi and fascist pyromaniacs. By becoming the allies and pawns of fascism, these leaders are preparing the worst possible enslavement of the Arab people.

It is this fascist element, introduced into the situation in Palestine some time ago, which has been producing a bloody harvest. To a great extent, the terror is the result of a struggle of *two* fascist forces, those of Arab fascist-terrorists and those of Jewish fascists, the Revisionists (or New Zionists), both working for the same fascist master, as the very well informed *Week* of London has testified. "Terroristic bands of both people (Jewish and Arab)," the *Week* of July 13, 1938, states, "are being financed from Rome and Berlin. . . . The Italians, for instance, now frankly assert that the success of certain groups of Jewish terrorists in Palestine is due to the fact (they say) that the Italian government placed at the disposal of a certain well known Revisionist organization a training ship."

These Arab and Jewish terrorists do not represent their people. Leaders of the Jewish Agency in Palestine, of the Histadruth (Palestine Jewish Labor Federation), and the Chief Rabbi have recently condemned the Revisionists in the sharpest terms as "murderers" who "stab the Jewish community in the back." The labor Zionist paper *Davar* opened a veritable barrage against the Revisionists, as did the general Zionist paper *Haaretz*. Last year, Arab leaders publicly condemned violence and asserted that a speedy understanding between Arabs and Jews is urgently needed. The economic situation both for Jews and Arabs is deplorable as a result of the constant turmoil.

The people of Palestine want a solution. What kind of a solution?

Palestine is a colonial country where a movement for liberation and self-rule is but natural. It is idle to talk about "agitators" keeping a people in turmoil for years. The Peel Commission report attempts at great length to prove that what has occurred in Palestine is a rebellion, a struggle for independence (pp. 104-119). Dr. J. L. Magnes, president of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, in his famous letter to the New York *Times* of July 18, 1937, emphasized that "rebellion" is a proper term for the Palestine events of 1936. A rebellion, of course, against imperialism. The same is true of the Arabs, north of Palestine in Syria and south of Palestine in Egypt.

But no colonial struggle is "pure and simple," particularly when fascism poses as the savior of Islam, when the very important Jewish minority must have its national rights safeguarded, and there is the need of helping Jewish refugees from fascist countries.

Under certain circumstances, the claim of "historic rights," even if it comes from a persecuted people with a legitimate craving for statehood, must be rejected. Under capitalism such claims can be solved only by war and by the subjugation of others. This cannot liberate the people instrumental in such subjugation. Under capitalism, "historic claims" may lead to a general struggle for a redivision of the world.

Because of historic traditions, Jews will be drawn to Palestine. Since there is a considerable and important Jewish minority there, Palestine looms among the countries where Jewish refugees tend to seek a haven.

Heretofore, immigration into Palestine was conducted in a way to suit the needs of British imperialism and political Zionism. Great Britain wanted to have strategic points settled by Jews in areas along the railway lines, on the coast, along the northern frontier, etc. Political Zionism wanted more and more speedily to get a Jewish majority in the country. For these reasons, the economic conditions and possibilities of the *entire* population were hardly considered. In order to make room for new Jewish immigrants, Arab labor had to be kept out of Jewish settlements and even removed from settlements where Arabs for years had been employed by Jews. For the same reason, Arabs had to be kept out of the Histadruth.

This harmful method of immigration led to an almost complete separation between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. It was an additional factor of considerable weight for violent nationalism and chauvinism, for hatred and conflict. Such immigration must be renounced. Obviously, this necessitates rejection of the idea of a state based on British declarations and mandates. Those Zionists who have given up hope for past British plans must not, however, make the mistake of falling victims of the new British scheme of partitioning the country.

Jews as well as Arabs must face realities. Peace will come to Palestine only when Arabs recognize the economic and cultural importance of the Jewish minority for Palestine and for Arabistan generally. Jews have much to offer in building the country, as demonstrated by the upbuilding of their own community. Jews and Arabs have much to gain from each other if the upbuilding is done hand in hand, without discrimination against Arab or Jewish labor. Zionist leaders must recognize the folly and the danger of advocating a Jewish "state" and "majority." The deep sentiment, the justified desire for statehood among Jews, is of no avail if realities are overlooked.

Jewish statehood will be attained only under Socialist rule, as in the USSR where Biro-Bidjan is being developed into a Jewish Socialist Soviet Republic. Whether one agrees or disagrees with this viewpoint, Jews *are* a minority in Palestine, much as one may regret it (a Jewish majority in a given territory in Europe where they count in many millions would certainly be much more desirable). According to the Peel Commission report, there were in 1937 "at least" 400,000 Jews to 950,000 Arabs in Palestine. Peace and the introduction of a democratic and progressive order can be attained only on the basis of these realities. It is impossible to view the problem otherwise. Militant Arab chauvinists may be

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ready for more bloodshed against the entrenched Jewish minority. Revisionists may proclaim that "Judea must be conquered by the sword." The overwhelming majority of Arabs and Jews reject violence and fascism.

One of the most important contributions toward a solution for Palestine was made by Dr. J. L. Magnes in his previously mentioned letter to the New York *Times*. Magnes states: "We have been returning to a small, already populated, even if not overpopulated, land and despite all 'rights' conferred on us by the states which won the war, these rights are a thousand times of less importance than the consent, if it is at all to be obtained, of the Arabs who live in the land and of the Arab peoples who will continue to be our neighbors even after British imperialism may have passed." Dr. Magnes would accept a new British mandate on Palestine on condition that "first, both Jews and Arabs are in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance; second, the chief reason for the mandatory's presence in Palestine is to endeavor to create conditions favorable to free and open negotiation of agreements between Jews and Arabs, such agreements to be incorporated progressively into the basic law of the land." Dr. Magnes feels that the partitioning of Palestine would create "terrible *irrendentas* on both sides of the new frontiers—new Balkans with their fierce *comitadjis* winked at by governments." There are many other points one can put forward against partition, but it is hard to disagree with Dr. Magnes on this point. Certainly his program is a program of peace.

Dr. Cyrus Adler, head of the American Jewish Committee, in a statement recently issued against the partition plan, called for a "working basis" between Jews and Arabs. Under the influence of its non-Zionist members, the Jewish Agency, at its session in Zurich, August 1937, adopted a resolution asking for a conference of Jews and Arabs under British auspices. Mr. Morris J. Karpf of New York, a non-Zionist member of the executive of the Jewish Agency, subsequently demanded such a conference irrespective of Britain's disapproval.

The Histadruth can truly play a historic role in helping to bring about a solution in Palestine. It is the best organized body in the country. Its left-wing elements have rejected partition (the Hashomer Hatzoir advocates an Arab-Jewish State on a parity basis). In a statement to the Peel Commission, the Histadruth declared: "The workers of both communities—the Jews, consciously, and the Arabs, instinctively—realize that there exists a real organic basis for the establishment of friendly relations between them." It deplored the fact that British rule has tried to prevent "Jewish-Arab trade-union activity." This Jewish-Arab activity, nay, the *unity* of Jewish and Arab labor for which the Communists have worked unceasingly, can be accomplished by the Histadruth. Such unity will guarantee a proper solution of the Jewish-Arab problem. Whatever pledges by any international bodies drawn into the negotiations, it is organized labor and the unity of interests of Jewish and Arab toilers which will best uphold the rights of both nationalities.

On the Arab side, one of the leading Arab papers in Palestine, *Falastin,* stated about the Magnes plan: "Everyone, both Arab and Jew, should work to exploit the present existing eagerness for a settlement that may save the country" (New York *Times,* Dec. 12, 1937). The *Falastin* is certainly not alone among the Arabs but the Arab toiling masses will clearly have to play the main role in effecting an understanding with the Jews.

This will not be easy. *Any* plan for Palestine will encounter innumerable difficulties. Partitionment, for instance, announced last year, will take, according to its authors, at least two years before even an attempted introduction of the plan is made. Adherents of the plan admit that many years will pass before peace is restored. There is *no* easy solution for Palestine. But the new imperialist scheme of partition (laughable, if Palestine conditions were not so tragic) is even less workable than the mandate, and more perilous than the Balfour Declaration and the mandate put together. Partitionment is sure to keep the gates of Palestine closed to Jewish immigration for years (until the plan is put into effect) and leave little room for immigration later on. On the other hand, an understanding between Jews and Arabs which introduced peace to Palestine would no doubt continue the present temporary stoppage of immigration. But it would eventually open up possibilities for the settlement of great numbers of Jews in Palestine and other Arab countries. In the words of Dr. Magnes: "There should be many opportunities for proposing freely and openly negotiated agreements for limited periods between Jews and Arabs, between Jews of the world and Arabs of the world. . . . With Arab consent we could settle many hundreds of thousands of persecuted Jews in various Arab lands. That is worth a real price."

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Comment by Mr. Samuel

THE space allotted me will not permit of more than a few random remarks on Mr. Novick's article. Our basic difference of outlook must be referred to the articles themselves.

That British imperialism, Arab leadership, and political Zionism are responsible for the hostility between Jews and Arabs in Palestine is not an illuminating statement, and taken in conjunction with the statement preceding, that for generations before the war Jews and Arabs lived together in peace, it is misleading. It must be remembered that the pre-war Jewish population of Palestine was only about sixty thousand, as against 550,000 Arabs. A huge proportion of the Jews were supported by the contributions of religious Jews abroad. Jewish influence on the Arab economy was *nil*. If the implication of the two statements is that any considerable, progressive Jewish community could have grown up without altering the balance of forces and the relation of Jews and Arabs, it must be rejected.

Further: long before the appearance of post-war Zionism, scores of Jews were killed in the colonies by Arab marauders, and a Jewish self-defence, that of the *shomrim,* was found necessary. That British imperialism has aggravated the hostility and helped give it a new character is perfectly true. That the Jews could have built a modern economy in Palestine without awakening hostility is a point of view which may be held by a few extreme philosophic idealists.

The statement that the terror is "to a great extent . . . the result of a struggle between *two* fascist forces, those of Arab fascist-terrorists and those of Jewish fascists, the Revisionists," is, I think, inaccurate. One might as intelligibly say that the struggle in Spain is largely the result of a struggle between loyalist fascists and rebel fascists. That acts by individual Jewish fascists have aggravated the situation is true. But it would be absurd and misleading to ignore one amazing and significant fact: the two-year period of self-denying discipline (the spring of 1936 to the summer of 1938) during which the Jewish community, under the most desperate provocation, held to a policy of non-retaliation—an extraordinary moral and political performance which the whole world watched with astonishment.

If Arab leadership is, among other factors, responsible for the present fury in Palestine, it is naive to pay attention to the fact that "last year Arab leaders publicly condemned violence and asserted that a speedy understanding between Jews and Arabs is profoundly needed." An understanding on what basis? Complete destruction of the Jewish position? Gradual extrusion of the Jewish population? Hitler too wants peace—on his terms.

The quotations from Rabbi Judah L. Magnes and Dr. Cyrus Adler, president of the Jewish Theological Seminary, add very little to a factual estimate of the position. "With Arab consent we could settle many hundreds of thousands of persecuted Jews in various Arab countries," says Dr. Magnes. So we could. We could do likewise with American consent, British consent, French consent, and anybody else's consent. What conceivable grounds are there for believing that the Arabs will extend a consent which the rest of the world withholds? Dr. Adler calls for a working basis for Jews and Arabs, and Mr. Morris J. Karpf will support an Arab-Jewish conference irrespective of British approval. The citing of these views in connection with the point of view adopted in Mr. Novick's article might lead one to believe that these gentlemen mean an understanding from below, on the basis of labor action. But the fact is that on the whole these gentlemen mean nothing at all; they yearn for peace, and their

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statements are just yearnful expressions. As such they are of little use in the formulation of a practical policy.

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Comment by Mr. Novick

THE contemplated Jewish state will have an area of over two thousand square miles with a population of over 600,000, about three hundred persons to the square mile. Poland, also an agricultural country, having, however, a powerful industry and rich resources, has a density of 213. England has 506 and Belgium has 675, but these are extremely industrialized countries with huge resources, colonies, a tremendous market. Palestine has no coal, iron, timber (the *only* mineral, the Dead Sea potash deposits will be inside the Arab state). The Jewish state will have no Arab hinterland. How will it exist? Is it not fantastic to speak of doubling or even trebling its population? There is a limit to what the Jews from the outside can supply. Mandate Palestine with a promise for a state five times larger, including Jerusalem, could not get enough funds to suit Zionist plans.

2. The Jewish state will immediately have an Arab problem. About 48 percent of the population will be Arab. Out of the approximately four million dunam cultivable land within the state—a dunam is less than a quarter of an acre—three million is in the hands of Arabs.

3. Mr. Samuel agrees there is validity in the fear there will be an Arabia *irredenta* and a constant source of friction. Out of despair for the fate of the Jewish minority in an undivided Palestine he is nevertheless for partition. But, then, he offers no solution for peace. Dr. Magnes, who has been living in Palestine, disagrees with him. I do not think the modern Jewish community in Palestine in the present age can be compared with the community which has developed in Yemen in the dark ages. With a strong Jewish-Arab labor movement the power of the Mufti (who was made powerful and rich by England) will be curtailed.

4. I fail to see the liberalism of a community resorting to racial discrimination—which *strengthens* the Muftis and the Effendis and is also bound to have a destructive effect on Jewish life itself. Jews throughout the world will suffer from such practice in "their" state.

5. Eventually (relatively soon) this state will have to close its doors against Jewish immigrants while some governments will more than ever force Jews to emigrate to "their" state. There is much to be said about the effect the Jewish state will have on Jews outside—90 percent, *the* Jewish people.

6. Partitioning and the creation of an Arab *irredenta* will certainly have the effect of driving Arabs towards fascism as a means of struggle against Britain. The participation of the Jews in the struggle against British imperialism will also be a means of warding off fascism from among the millions of Arabs throughout Arabistan and Africa. Jewish Communists and other anti-fascists already work along this line, and whatever is said about the Palestine (as about all other) Communists, they are aiming at the unity of the broad masses of Jews and Arabs, at a people's front in Palestine, and many of them have been persecuted by the imperialist oppressors because of this.

7. Mr. Samuel himself lists a variety of Zionist and other opponents of partition, so there is no reason to limit them to assimilationists and Communists. At the Zionist Congress in Zurich, August 1937, the vote was 304 to 158 on a motion to negotiate with Great Britain. In addition to the 158, seventy of the majority specified they were against partition. At best, the vote was: 234 for, 228 against. Over sixty labor delegates were among the "nays." Non-Zionists are overwhelmingly against. Religious Jews are opposed because Jerusalem is outside the state.

8. The Jewish community is no doubt highly developed—*relatively*. Palestine is still to be industrialized. During the last boom period there were no more than two establishments employing three hundred workers and over. Mr. Samuel grants there are forty thousand Arab city workers. I think there are many more. But the Histadruth lists only 63,238 city workers (as of March 1937) including professionals, Zionist and Agency functionaries and *non-working* wives and youths of workers (Mr. A. Revusky in *Jews in Palestine* admits this is rather a "departure" from bona fide trade-union practice). True, there is an enormous difference of living standards. But, in the USA, certain people were afraid to organize the unorganized lest the better paid minority be dragged down. Powerful Jewish-Arab trade unions can attain high standards for all workers. On the other hand, I could quote figures to show that wages of Jewish workers were lowered because Jewish employers otherwise refused to substitute them for their old Arab workers. Our South is feudal while our North is industrialized, but the Civil War was fought to prevent partition, and progressive people now fight the "differentials" for the South. This is, of course, no analogy (analogies are never exact) but something to learn from. To cut the living body of a small country of ten thousand square miles; to take a narrow strip along the Mediterranean (at spots only eight miles wide) with one end of it severed by the British corridor from Jerusalem to Jaffa, with four of its five cities "temporarily" mandated to England, and all of it entangled in barbed wire—to proclaim *this* a state is to attempt a grim joke on the Jewish pople. Certainly it will not bring peace.

Soriano

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THE SECOND GUADALAJARA

A Cable from the Northern Front

JOSEPH NORTH

Falset, by courier to Barcelona, July 30.

WHEN I got to Corbera, the enemy was shelling the town from Gandesa, whose spires are visible from the hill-top. First the snarl and then the thud and then the cascade of bricks tumbling down. I met an ancient peasant, with black head-kerchief and cane, clambering over the ruins on the Street of Dr. D. Jaime Ferran. This main street of the rural center is the one with all the Franco pictures painted on the buildings and the Falangist arrows and crossbow by every doorway.

"Buenos dia," the peasant said. I said good-day to him as another shell landed up the same street a few hundred yards off. *"Malo,"* he said. "Bad." I shook my head in agreement.

"Si, Señor," he said, looking at the ruins. "The work of many years is being undone now." *"Si,"* I said. He clambered to the top of the ruins, looked inside the building where a cock still stood in the wreckage, and went on.

The old man spoke more truth than he knew. Franco's shells and Il Duce's bombers were undoing the work of centuries. They are shattering buildings with their own Falangist abacadabra painted on them. Their shells and their bombs are waking up the last groups of peasants here who had been sticking to the old—the system of the *cacique,* the country-side boss—the old customary spiritual penury.

The lands which the Popular Front has taken back in last week's drive are among the richest in Spain. The splendidly cultivated fields roll up to the top of the Barrancos. Potatoes big as both your fists grow in the rich soil. But the tillers of the soil are happy that the republicans came back. One of them, a gnarled fellow in tight breeches, kissed the Catalonian red and gold flag when the troops came marching in again. The terror of Moors and blackshirts, of Franco and the Falangists, had been too much. And now: heartless barrage and hourly aerial bombardments. These are the folk Franco admitted in his Burgos communiqué had "helped the enemy cross the Ebro."

This offensive ranks with Guadalajara; in some ways it is a greater achievement. It happened that Peter Kerrigan of the London *Daily Worker* and your correspondent crossed the river a few hours after the republicans and saw what a job it was. The republican troops crossed with dispatch and ease, with a meticulous planfulness that has amazed European military experts. It attests once more to the fact that the people's army is boundless in initiative even though lacking in orthodox strategy and tactics of the military academies.

Friday the republic had been bringing up trucks loaded with fishermen's boats. The highways from Portbou to the Ebro were crowded with them. Trucks carrying pontoons were rushed through Barcelona. Undoubtedly fifth-column experts notified Franco; but Franco was totally unprepared for the blow when it came. He undoubtedly thought that the action would take much longer preparation than it did. For he was preparing the same action. I could see that on the outskirts of Corbera, where I counted some seventeen boats lying sixteen kilometers from the Ebro.

The republic beat him to the punch. The boats crossed before dawn Monday, July 25. Volunteers rowed them over, among them many American lads who had been seamen or lifeguards, and those who had done a "stretch" in the United States Navy. Once over, along the western bank of the Ebro from Amposte to Maquinenza, the engineers threw bridges across for the heavy stuff—tanks, artillery, truckloads of ammunition. The fascists fled in disorder practically all along the line—a distance of over a hundred miles. They ran wildly for the first forty-eight hours.

There's exquisite irony in this, for this is the very ground over which Mussolini's mechanized brigades rushed just fifteen weeks ago. They traversed this area to reach the coast and that was to be the *coup de grace* to the government. And now the fascists are scurrying back along the same roadways. They failed to put up any resistance whatsoever until they reached Gandesa. Il Duce's mountain pieces have come to their aid and the Moors are shooting their heads off, but the fall of Gandesa is imminent. Franco rushed all planes at his disposal to try to stop the advance. All the open cities, the beautiful rural towns along the Ebro, Mora de Nueva, Vinebro, Asco, and back a few kilometers, Gandesa and Torre de Espagnole, are being bombed with an intensity unequaled in this or any other war.

It is *Schrecklichkeit* à la Hitler. Every dawn this enemy sends over its reconnaisance plane. I watched it soar gracefully above over Asco. A half-hour later I heard the hum of a bombing fleet. They glided into view by threes, sixes, twelves, up to thirty. They circle their objectives but at a careful height, for the government has concentrated more anti-aircraft here than at any other spot during this war. Then they drop their load, chiefly 250-kilo bombs. They drop about a thousand daily on the twelve-kilometer river-edge. Sometimes when the anti-aircraft is distant they come down to strafe. They strafe in patrols of three or six, circling about their prey while one swoops down with its rat-tat-tat of machine-gun bullets. Then it rises and the second comes down, and so on. It is done with the grace of a condor. The action is hatefully deliberate, maddeningly scientific.

But the government pushes on. Men hide under trees or in ditches; small-town guardsmen fire two rifleshots in the air and the people take to the refugios. Hundreds of lovely old buildings crumble in a rush of bricks and plaster. But the toll of human life and materials is relatively small. The advance continues. The entire action came as a complete surprise. London, Paris, Berlin, and Rome thought that the fate of the republic was sealed; there still remained desperate resistance, but the end was nearing. The enemy was coming down Sagunto Road beyond Sarrion; airfleets were bombing all ports. The French border was closed tight. The enemy had all the planes and cannon they needed from Krupp and Milan.

Then came the lightning stroke. The invaders are now rushing materials and men up from Levante. They haven't been able to gain a yard about Sagunto these last five days. Their morale is crumbling. I have spoken with scores of prisoners and it is obvious they are happy that they are no longer fighting for Franco. The Burgos communiqué, which announced that the republicans had crossed, did so with a surprising admission. It said, "With the aid of certain people in towns across the Ebro, the enemy succeeded in crossing at several points." It is an admission of a serious state of affairs in Franco territory. "Certain people" are multiplying daily—heartily sick of Franco and his "advisers," Mussolini and Hitler.

I have had the opportunity of observing the republican troops more closely in this action than ever before—excellent infantrymen. They march across the roads to Gandesa. Gandesa is the key to Tortosa, which gets its supplies from that center. With Gandesa taken, Tortosa is untenable. Then the battle is on for Alcaniz and the roadway to Morella, thence to Vinaroz. Franco's holdings all along the coast to Castellon are thus endangered. More than six thousand prisoners have been taken; more than a thousand kilometers regained. Great quantities of materials—trucks, rifles, and ammunition—have fallen into the republic's hands. The equilibrium of Chamberlain's policies has been seriously disturbed. Fulfillment of the Anglo-Italian pact is farther away than ever.

Of course, don't make the mistake of thinking that it's all over. The task is not easy. The enemy has brought up all his materials. But morale is against Franco. And more than that, the Spanish republican army has achieved higher efficiency and spirit than ever before. I saw them during several actions about Corbera. Victory was on their faces, and zeal for freedom. They came through, disheveled, bearded, dirty—but glorious.

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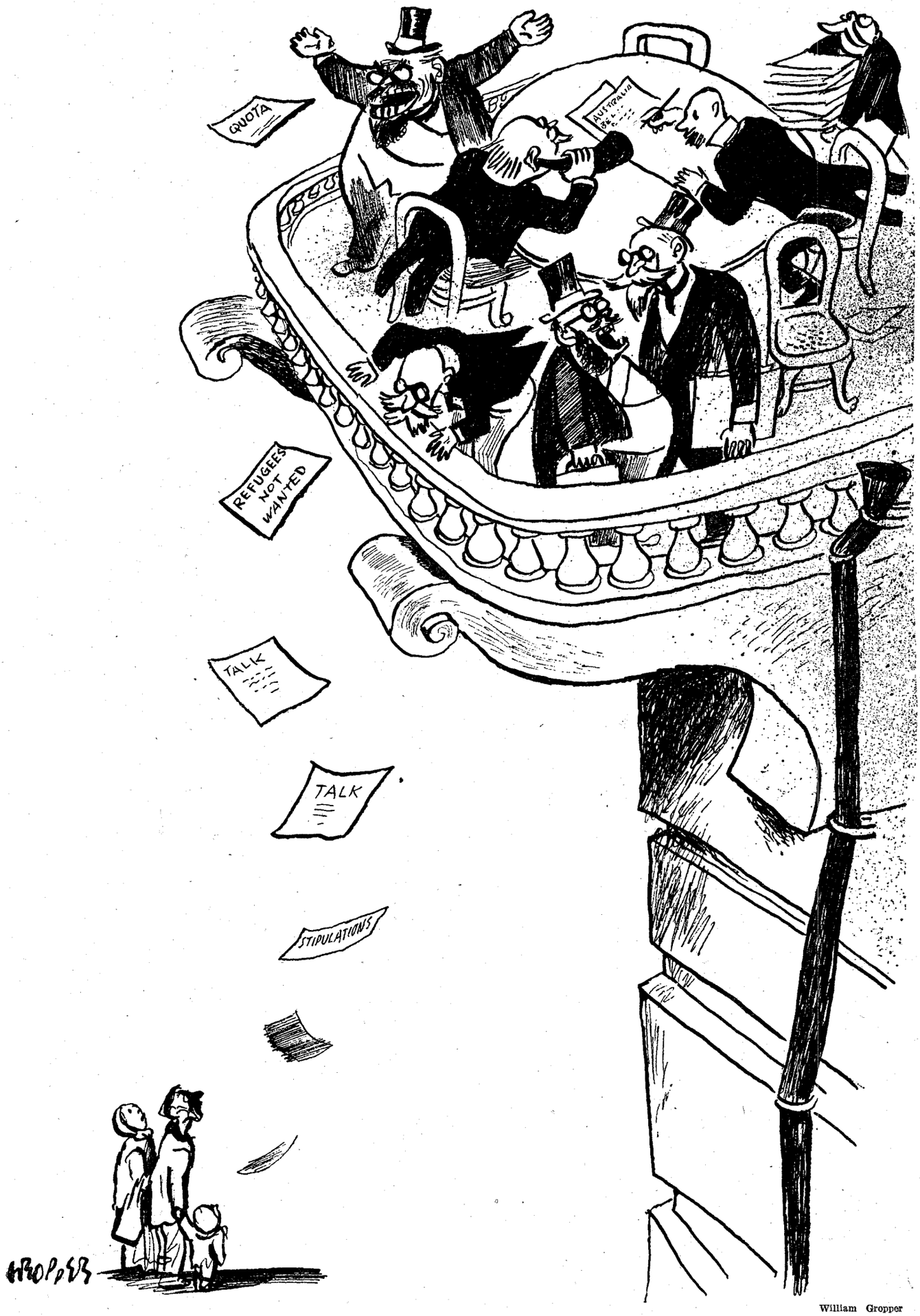

William Gropper

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NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

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The Boycott Brings Results

FIGURES released by the Department of Commerce show a decrease in Japan's export trade with the United States of 22.5 percent and in import trade of 31 percent for June 1938 compared with June 1937. Though the boycott movement certainly cannot be given entire credit for this drop, it did play a notable and ever growing role.

Examining the figures more closely, interest naturally centers on the decreased purchases of Japanese raw silk. In the first five months of 1937, the United States imported 23,664,000 pounds; for the same period in 1938, the figure was only 17,622,000 pounds, a drop of more than six million pounds, or more than 25 percent. Since this is Japan's biggest money crop, it was inevitable that Japan could purchase only 466,000 bales of raw cotton in 1938 instead of the 698,000 of 1937, or almost exactly 33 percent less. The same declines are shown in scrap steel, iron and steel plates, aircraft, and motor vehicles, but the trend is distinctly reversed in the case of oil.

This report should give renewed impetus to the boycott movement, as well as to the drive now getting under way for a government embargo on Japanese trade, especially products necessary for the continuance of the aggression. Boycott and embargo are two sides of the same coin. In their own ways, both will prevent Japanese militarism from getting its war materials in this country. The boycott is an effective method for enforcing Far Eastern as well as world peace.

Fascism vs. Catholicism

ONE of the deadly sins in a fascist country is to impugn the originality of the dictator. This deadly sin was committed by Pope Pius XI when, in a recent address before students of the College of Propagation of the Faith, he expressed his wonder that Mussolini should have felt the need to imitate Hitler in this whole business of Aryan racism. First it was the goose-step, now it is Aryanism. The accusation of being a mere imitator drove Mussolini into a frenzy of anger. What? "Fascism imitating any one or anything? Absurd! I wish you and everyone to know that also in the race question we will go straight ahead."

Thus, "the issue between the Vatican and the fascist state is now squarely joined," reports Arnaldo Cortesi, of the New York *Times*. "The Vatican has repudiated all racist theories, not excluding the Italian ones . . . and has condemned them as contrary to the very essence of the Catholic faith. Mussolini . . . has brusquely announced that he proposes to go straight ahead. Everyone in Rome is sitting back to watch the sparks fly when an irresistible force meets an immovable body."

In view of these sharp clashes between Mussolini and the Pope, and the enthusiastic support Mussolini received in Hitler's official press, what will be the position of sincere Catholics who have been misled into the belief that the puppet of these two anti-Catholic dictators in Spain, Generalissimo Franco, is fighting for the Church? Franco's fighting strength is based on Moors (not Christians), on Italian fascists (anti-Catholic), and German Nazis (even more bitterly anti-Catholic)! How can any Catholics consistently maintain that Franco fights for the Catholic Church? How can they persist in their utterly unjustifiable opposition to the loyalists? How can they fail to join hands with all progressive anti-fascist forces, including, of course, the Communists, in the common fight for jobs, security, democracy, and peace?

Across the Ebro

THERE is not the slightest doubt that the republican offensive across the Ebro is one of the major actions of the war. It could not have been undertaken by a beaten army. Its vitality, speed, and tenacity carry the ring of victory, not an easy victory, not an imminent one, but a certain one because Spain cannot be conquered while Spaniards remain on its soil.

The primary objective of the republican advance has already been fulfilled. Franco and his "advisers" have had to withdraw troops from the Levante front so that his offensive there seems to have been completely stalled. The latest dispatches report an important republican victory below Teruel, near this very front. If this materializes into anything of substantial importance, Franco will have to rush troops to defend Teruel, another peril to his Levante drive.

What now? It would be folly to suppose that the fascists are not preparing a major effort to recoup their losses and their prestige. They are still greatly superior to the republicans in arms and munitions, especially in planes. Mussolini and Hitler will reluctantly recognize that the war is far from over and increase their intervention. The coming weeks are therefore critical. International aid to Spain and the struggle against "non-intervention" and "neutrality" are more urgent than ever. With the Spaniards fighting so valiantly and so well, can we remain satisfied with anything but our best?

Danger in the Far East

THE Japanese militarists have again brought the situation in the Far East close to the danger of a major war, with all its possibilities of a world holocaust.

Japan was in desperate need of a diplomatic triumph to compensate for its loss of prestige in China. It tried to gain such a victory at the expense of the Soviet Union. Grasping at a minor border incident as a pretext, the Japanese government brusquely denounced the Soviet Union as an "invader," demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops from a hill which belonged to Russia since 1869, and threatened, in case of Soviet refusal to comply with its demands, the "application of force." Litvinov, the Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, rebuked the Japanese ambassador in Moscow for his undiplomatic language, assured him that threats were the last thing to go over in Moscow, and flatly refused to accept the ambassador's protests. Now it was Japan's turn to act.

Rumors, emanating from Tokyo, of clashes between the Soviet and Japanese troops around Changkufeng filled the papers. Simultaneously news dispatches from Tokyo indicated that "the Japanese public was unanimously opposed to taking steps that might lead to war with Russia." By July 22, the Japanese government, "fearing that the public was reaching a dangerous state of alarm," ordered the press to "minimize the alleged invasion of Manchukuo by Soviet troops." It was obvious that the Japanese government was ready to retreat from its intransigeant position and settle the incident amicably, even though it would be an obvious loss of face. Then, after a few days of quiet, again reports of clashes near Changkufeng poured out from Tokyo. The Japanese troops were winning, chasing the Soviet troops, killing hundreds, capturing tanks and guns and ammunition. Tokyo was now ready to glory in the achievements of its military in Manchukuo. It had almost regained face. *Almost,* for according to the latest official

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reports from Moscow (August 2), the Japanese, who had actually retaken the Changkufeng Hill on July 31, have been definitely dislodged by regular Red Army detachments. They have not only lost the territory under dispute, but "the number of killed and wounded Japanese reached 400; the Japanese left on Soviet territory five pieces of artillery, fourteen machine guns and 157 rifles with ammunition. Soviet casualties were thirteen killed and fifty-five wounded. One Soviet tank and one piece of artillery were disabled."

The Business Outlook

THE last month has seen a hesitant upswing in business. The Labor Research Association points out that though consumers' incomes declined during the present depression, the drop was much smaller than that experienced during the last crisis period, 1929-33. Far more disastrous was the fall in production of consumers' goods. Now, as the stock market pushes upward in anticipation of improvements, buying of textiles, leather, and metals has increased, automobile sales went up in June, and steel operations have mounted.

During the present depression, when consumer incomes remained at a relatively higher level than production of consumer goods, demand was for the most part satisfied by the reduction of inventories. Today the stocks of consumer goods in the hands of retailers, wholesalers, and manufacturers are substantially reduced. In consequence, an increase in production can be expected to a point more in line with retail sales.

Substantially the same outlook is arrived at by the American Federation of Labor in its monthly survey of business. The upturn has undoubtedly been speeded by the administration's recovery program which began at a critical moment. However, the full effect of the program is still to be felt because of the delay in putting recovery measures into action. Nor can recovery be expected to continue without expansion of the New Deal program, expansion that will widen WPA and raise relief wages as well as enforcing the Wages and Hours Act and strengthening it, launching a realistic housing program greatly increased over the present allotments, and showing more generosity to farmers and to small-business men in need of credit to pursue more profitably their activities.

At the moment the business outlook improved, the monopolies started a wage-cutting drive, especially in the railroads. If business recovery is to prove of any real benefit to consumers, and if it is not to be halted by lack of purchasing power, the wage cuts must be defeated. The implications of preserving wage levels leads to nationalization of the railroads. And in addition, the need for credit which the monopolies and their bankers have steadfastly refused, necessitates the immediate mobilization of sentiment in this country to nationalize the banks and so to facilitate the flow of credit.

Badge of Dishonor

HENRY FORD once contributed greatly to man's mechanical progress, and for that the world has not only honored him, but has also compensated him vastly in material goods and powers. Under ordinary circumstances, therefore, the fact that on his seventy-fifth birthday this American was decorated by a foreign power might have been proudly regarded as little more than a fit tribute to a distinguished fellow citizen.

But the circumstances are not ordinary. The decoration has been awarded by Hitler, a man who persecutes, imprisons, and exiles distinguished people in his own country, whose entire life and activity are the very antithesis to progress and learning and culture and humanity and democracy. And when we recall that among the other three people who were awarded by Hitler the Grand Cross of the German Eagle was the unspeakable Mussolini, we, as Americans, feel deeply ashamed. For we realize that it is not Ford the mechanical inventor, the excellent organizer, the industrial wizard, who is being honored, but Ford the political reactionary, the economic tyrant, the anti-Semite, the enemy of labor, the supporter of the Black Legion and various other fascist and Nazi organizations at home and abroad. What was genuinely and typically American in Ford is anathema to Hitler. It is the shameful, un-American, dictatorial, fascistic essence of the politically stupid and socially vicious latter-day Ford that Hitler admires.

The ALP and the Elections

THE Democratic Party machine in New York considered the American Labor Party in the bag. And having safely tucked it away, the Democrats officially refused to make concessions to the ALP in platform or when it came to selecting candidates.

The ALP has reiterated time and again that it is not an adjunct to any political party, but rather an independent political voice of the state's progressive forces. In a practical manner, it foresaw coalitions with other political groups in order to advance the ALP program. Hence, with Tammany out to knife the ALP and with major sections of the Democratic machine in New York dominated by Tammany, the ALP looked round for allies that would enhance its political effectiveness.

The Republican Party in New York is by no means a monolithic party: it contains Fusionists, progressives, middle-class liberals, side by side with reactionaries. It was possible for the ALP to agree with the progressive elements on candidates for state and local offices in the coming elections. The agreement specified that in certain districts the ALP will endorse progressive Republicans who in turn will reciprocate in favor of ALP candidates. In no way is the ALP wedded to the Republican Party. The best indication of this is the coalition of New Deal Democrats and the ALP in other localities, as well as the cries of horror and protest that went up from the reactionary Republicans at the thought of cooperating with the ALP—and endorsing the New Deal program—anywhere.

The election will find the progressives lined up against the reactionaries. It doesn't matter much if the die-hards call themselves Republicans, Democrats, or just ordinary Tammany ward-heelers.

What Is Martin Hiding?

HOMER MARTIN has abruptly adjourned the "trial" of the four suspended vice-presidents of the United Automobile Workers. He did so when Maurice Sugar, attorney for the suspended officers, forced a Martin witness to admit that the pogrom against what Martin calls "Communistic influences in the union" was also aimed at John L. Lewis. He did so when Wyndham Mortimer (who more than any other individual was responsible for the growth of the auto union in its early days) charged that a Martin supporter had received $20,000 from an Eastern insurance company to arrange for a lucrative group-insurance plan for the union—which, incidentally, would have meant $5,000,000 profits a year for the insurance company.

Martin did more than postpone the hearings. He arbitrarily changed the procedure of the trial. Henceforth the defendants must present all evidence in the form of affidavits. "This unheard of evidence-in-affidavit procedure," commented Attorney Sugar, "is an attempt to prevent our disclosures from becoming known to the UAW membership and the public. . . . No one has yet thought up a way to cross-examine an affidavit." The reason for Martin's sudden desire to keep the hearings secret was clear enough to any observer. "The verdict is 'not guilty,' as everyone can see," Sugar declared. "The action of Martin's followers in adjourning the board is as clear as crystal. Today we intended to bring out the details of the insurance deal and the stool pigeon on the executive board."

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Howland Spencer

IN REPORTING Howland Spencer's sale of his Ulster County, N. Y., estate to Father Divine, the capitalist press left unremarked the most significant part of Spencer's career. For several years the Squire of Krum Elbow has been known to residents of the countryside as an open, blatant anti-Semite and fascist. A few years ago he bought out the *Post,* the only newspaper in the town of Highland, and opened its columns to men like William Dudley Pelley and Robert Edmund Edmundson. At the top of the front page the paper carried a standing ad for James True's "Kike-killer." Spencer himself conducted a pseudonymous column. On several occasions Jewish residents of the nearby towns of Kingston, Newburgh, and Poughkeepsie found that they had acquired, gratuitously, subscriptions to the paper Spencer hoped would strike fear into their hearts. Aroused public opinion, a boycott by advertisers and subscribers, and threatened legal action, however, put the Highland *Post* on the skids. Hence the note in last Sunday's papers that Spencer had "given it to the printers."

Mexico Cleans House

MEXICO continues to smoke out its fascist enemies with gratifying alertness. Following ex-Governor Cedillo's downfall, Governor Yocupicio of the state of Sonora has emerged as the potential leader of another anti-government uprising. But Mexican labor has not permitted him to plot in the dark. On July 16, at one of the sessions of the Seventh National Congress of the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), a delegate from Sonora made a number of public charges against Yocupicio. He accused the Sonora strong man of sabotaging the distribution of lands to the peasants, of inspiring clashes between the state authorities and the Agrarian Federation, and of bringing undue pressure to bear on the local labor Board of Conciliation and Arbitration. Sec'y.-Gen. Lombardo Toledano of the CTM added that Yocupicio's secretary was a well known legal representative in labor disputes of employers and has been arrested for complicity in the Cedillo rebellion. In addition, Yocupicio's supporters have been engaging in various anti-Semitic activities.

At a conference of governors in Mexico City called by President Cárdenas, Yocupicio showed that he was worried, by attempting to reply. He declared that he was opposed to experimenting with "imported" political and social ideas "not conformable to our mode of being," and he passed off fascist activity in Sonora as a figment of the labor leader's imagination. Nobody expects Yocupicio to stop with these words but his future course is still a matter of some speculation. Fortunately the leading party of Mexico, of which President Cárdenas is a member, has taken equally prompt action against reactionary disrupters within its own ranks. Three of the main figures in a scheme to form a new, pseudo-democratic opposition party have been expelled and the whole plan thoroughly discouraged—for the time being.

The threat of a fascist uprising in Mexico is still a real one though it is diminishing in the face of the government's energetic progressivism. All the more reason, then, for a more consistent and genuine good-neighbor policy towards Mexico by our own State Department. Secretary Hull's note proposing arbitration in the claims of American landowners whose Mexican estates have been divided for the benefit of the native peasants was a clever move but it is a departure from that policy. The Mexican government is in the midst of a magnificent effort to liberate the majority of its people from peonage: this cannot be done without breaking up the huge estates. Mexico cannot give American landowners a privileged position over Mexican landowners. Both will be paid but both will have to wait. The issues are well known and the proposal to arbitrate was but a subterfuge, ultimately intended by the State Department to cover the oil claims as well. It does us no credit and should be forgotten.

Monopoly in Medicine

THE report of Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold reveals that medical progress in this country is being obstructed by a group of reactionaries within the medical profession itself. According to a preliminary investigation conducted by the Department of Justice, the American Medical Association and the District of Columbia Medical Society are engaging in monopolistic practices contrary to the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. The report charges that these organizations, controlled by die-hard opponents of group-insurance and socialized-medicine plans, have resorted to boycott, intimidation, and expulsion of liberal doctors connected with the Group Health Association of Washington, D. C. They have gone to shocking lengths to suppress "competition." They have sacrificed the health of patients; they have blacklisted eminent surgeons; they have denied doctors access to hospitals. The opponents of "regimentation" have themselves presented us with a model of regimenting activity.

Mr. Arnold is to be commended for the realism of his report. For he ties up the economic conditions of medical practice with the general situation in the profession. He points out that medical care has not kept pace with technical proficiency because millions of Americans cannot afford to pay doctors. Forty million people in this country are in families with annual incomes of less than $800. Acute illness of all kinds increases as one goes down the economic scale. These facts are relevant because the American Medical Association is fighting lower costs by fighting group health projects. Their attempt to monopolize the profession has the effect of excluding millions from any possibility of medical care. This is a social problem of the first magnitude, and we hope the Attorney General's office prosecutes the case up to the hilt.

Gentlemen Bourbons

THE record of the convention of the American Bar Association, which closed at Cleveland, July 29, makes clear that the bourbons of the American Bar have forgotten nothing and learned nothing. With one single exception, every resolution adopted or defeated by the convention was in line with the general policies of the anti-New Deal, big-business group.

The single exception was the adoption of a resolution to form a committee on American civil liberties. Lest that proposal ruffle the stuffed shirts unduly, the delegates tacked on a soft-soap qualification: "for rich and poor alike." No undue skepticism is required to question when and how the rich have ever been deprived of civil liberties in this country. Was it Mr. Weir or Mr. Girdler or Mr. Henry Ford or, maybe, Barbara Hutton for whom this solicitude was shown?

This liberal front was more than offset by a resolution attacking the National Labor Relations Board, an attack which perhaps furnishes the clue to the meaning of civil liberties "for rich and poor alike."

It is true that a resolution calling on the Supreme Court to investigate the appointment of Justice Black received a substantial vote, but in the end, it too was defeated. The one progressive note was the resolution to condemn the Nazi government for racial persecutions. It was a flickering flame that died when it reached the House of Delegates, where the resolution was held to exceed the purview and scope of the association's activity.

Despite these old-guard tactics, an uneasiness could be sensed among the gentlemen of the bar, who were conscious of the progressive forces lined up in the newly formed National Lawyers Guild and of the danger that soon the guild may well overshadow the importance of the American Bar Association.

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Forsythe's Page

Early Spring and Summer Voluptuary News

S. J. PERELMAN BATTING FOR ROBERT FORSYTHE

HAD you been loitering at the intersection of Vine Street and Hollywood Boulevard in Hollywood, Calif., on the morning of January 17 last, you could not have helped but notice a rather striking individual. Below the average in height, his piercing eyes peeping out from beneath a firm but humorous mouth, he was dressed with an elegance at once so careless and exquisite that it wrung a gasp of envy from the movie stars and career diplomats streaming past him. His spotless neckcloth put the snows of the distant Sierras to shame and occasionally he allowed his hand to toy languidly with the magnificent bunch of seals depending from his nankeen vest. Lest he be mistaken for some frivolous buck out of the pages of *Esquire,* he carried under his arm a copy of Eliot's translation of St. John Perse's *Anabasis,* bound in crushed oscar levant. To the street Arabs who fought to brush his clothes and the tipsters besieging him with sure things in the sixth at Santa Anita he distributed largess from a pocketful of loose diamonds, but without ostentation. The man spoke rarely, but when he did, his witty and profound comment on the foibles of his time evoked peals of laughter from his auditors. Withal there was such a kernel of hard sense in his shrewd estimate of the international and local situation that many a citizen went his way a shade more thoughtfully, determined to do his part in eliminating civic corruption should it ever appear in Los Angeles County.

At roughly eleven o'clock, the person described bought himself a copy of the Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner,* and pulling on a pair of rubber gloves, began to thumb through it. His quick eye instantly absorbed the essentials of the morning's news, detected a fallacy in Prudence Penny's latest recipe, ferreted out a parvenu in the Princess Conchita Pignatelli's society column, and started to idle through the motion-picture gossip section conducted by Louella O. Parsons. It froze on an item halfway down, and (need I say?) has been frozen ever since:

Hollywood will talk a long time about the party Virginia and Darryl Zanuck gave at the Joseph Schenck home to celebrate their fourteenth wedding anniversary following the première of *In Old Chicago.* John Harkrider really outdid himself on the decorations. Tulle curtains hung from all the windows, pale green satin murals of the Zanuck family, and a bridal bouquet that filled one whole side of the hall, greeted the guests. The ceilings were a mass of gardenias, silver leaves, and pink camellias, while in one corner six white cockatoos lent a decorative note. The windows on one side of the Schenck home were removed to look out on a garden which resembled Versailles with its white statuary and flowering trees.

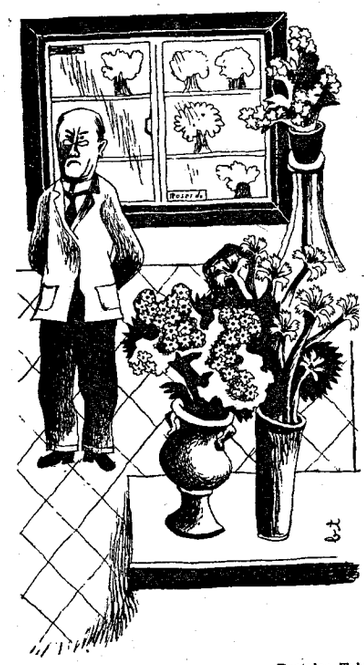
I hope Miss Parsons doesn't think me too horrid if I pat my barrettes girlishly back into place and submit that her party sounds like pretty small punkins for Mr. Harkrider. Far from outdoing himself, you and I who saw the old Ziegfeld shows know that at the Zanucks' he was only bunting out flies. It is apparent that all one has to do to start Louella of the High Heart whimpering with excitement is to remove a few windows. You don't even have to remove a few windows.

There is a general belief that this sort of soirée is typical of the movie colony and that when day is done along El Camino Real, the canyons resound with the gurgle of vintage wine and the soft entreaties of extra girls. I could cite any one of ten or fifteen clambakes I have attended which is much more characteristic, but the most recent will serve. It was held in a house in Alta Yenta Canyon high in the Hollywood hills, and from its windows you could see the myriad lights of Los Angeles sparkling like a veritable five-and-ten-cent store. Outside the house were drawn up twenty or thirty cars supplied by the Universal Credit Co., which, as a special favor, were not to be repossessed until the following morning. On entering, each guest was helped out of his coat by a onetime package thief posing as a Filipino butler and was shown into the living-room where the other unemployed were congregated exchanging alibis. Specially poisoned Martinis helped to loosen tongues, and all eyes were glued impatiently on the stairs down which our hostess would make her entrance as soon as she and her husband finished brawling in the bedroom.

As a graceful tribute to the early Franciscan padres, Fray Zukor y Balaban and Fray Sheehan del Metro, who had made the community possible, the décor was Spanish. Amber sidelights and rich wine-colored drapes, held aloft by an antique Mission safety-pin, suggested the cozy warmth of the Masque of the Red Death, and an empty sherry bottle peeped from the folds of the Spanish shawl trailing off the rented piano. The ceilings had been done over for the occasion by the recent rains into varying pastel shades of brown, and a charmingly informal breakfast tray littered with old toast indicated that here was no austere architect's blueprint but a gay and practical machine for living.

A moment later our hostess ricocheted into view, skidded slightly on a canapé someone had negligently left on the stairs, and landed in the arms of the present writer: an adagio nicely timed to attract the attention of the husband, who immediately deduced an affair and demanded satisfaction under the code duello. The scuffle was interrupted by the announcement of dinner. A truly Lucullan repast consisting of three barreled chickens and ten cents' worth of water ices soon had the thirty-odd guests sated, and the whole golden company retired to play parlor games. A nominal fee for pencils and papers was extracted by the host, and in a twinkling heads were bent over knotty sums, rebuses, and palindromes. Many a merry-eyed maiden sought out her swain with a gentle pressure of the hand and urged him to sneak off to the Trocadero, but few were in a mood to leave, particularly since their wives were watching. With the fun at fever heat, the host threw caution to the winds and produced the remains of a bottle of brandy. Hollywood will talk a long time about the orgy which ensued, but suffice to say that it was ten o'clock before the last drunken reveler wove unsteadily toward his car, chanting snatches of coarse doggerel. Fifteen minutes later a velvety stillness had fallen over the house, unbroken save by the gnawing of termites and that infinitely plaintive sound heard only in the tropics, the random snore of a hostess. Sleep, knitting up the raveled sleeve of care, had come to Alta Yenta Canyon; but across Los Angeles, in the bustling city-room of the *Herald-Examiner,* a green eyeshade slanted over her forehead and a corncob pipe clenched between her teeth, the motion-picture editor of International News Service—oblivious equally to the thundering presses and the laws of grammar—wrote on tirelessly, passionately, beautifully.

S. J. PERELMAN.



Beatrice Tobias

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COALITION IN OHIO

Davey Can Be Stopped

TED COX

Cleveland, O.

Ohio is distinguished among the states for the tenseness of its political life. It is regarded as a pivotal state politically and has given the United States five Presidents.

THIS *World Almanac* description of Ohio sums up the political situation in this fourth-largest industrial state as candidates swing down the home stretch in the now nationally significant race for nominations in the August 9 primaries.

The sharp fight between progressives and reactionaries is centered on the struggle for the gubernatorial nomination on the Democratic ticket. In this race, the nationally notorious Red-baiter and anti-CIO champion, Gov. Martin Luther Davey, rushes up and down the state behind a uniformed guard of honor, made up of state-highway patrolmen, campaigning on the issue of "Down with the CIO!" Pitted against him is Charles Sawyer, conservative but consistent New Dealer, who handled Roosevelt's Ohio campaign in 1936.

In the soft-spoken words of Elmer Fehlhaber, tall, sparse-haired secretary of the Ohio Labor's Non-Partisan League, the election situation is this:

> If you let Davey get reelected, you condemn the people of Ohio to another two years of misery . . . you guarantee two years of even worse starvation to the tens of thousands of unemployed now slowly starving to death under Ohio's nationally scandalous relief crisis . . . you fire a signal for every governor in the United States to call out the National Guard for strikebreaking service.
>
> The results of the Ohio elections are of national importance. Because they will have such an important bearing on the crucial 1940 elections, this one Democratic primary is of international importance.

There are other races. And there is the campaign of Charles Sawyer. But the storm center is Gov. Martin Luther Davey.

Davey is one of the most colorful politicians ever to grace the chair in the spacious, high-ceilinged governor's office of Ohio's State House.

Previous governors have won votes following the "regular feller" homespun pattern of political personality. Vic Donahey, champion vote-getter, former governor, and now a senator, used to show up at every county fair, asking the farmers for a "chaw of terbaccy."

But not Martin Davey. The dapper, luxury-loving governor does everything on a grand and lavish scale. He is the "best-dressed governor Ohio ever had." His gouges of graft are known as "the biggest" in Ohio history. His vindictive statements are the most sneering and bitter of any Ohio politician.

His stupendous ego insulating him from the miserable cries of Ohio's hungry, he strutted into office in the atmosphere of an $8,000 inaugural ball. One of his first acts was to acquire a brand new Lincoln sedan. To favored visitors he passed out—not prosaic cards—but silver name plates, costing $4.50 apiece. He cast a disdainful eye at his office, demanded a new $1,000 rug. When the State Legislature refused the appropriation, he called for "public subscription to buy the rug." Many men and women sent in nickels and dimes. One sent a few postage stamps. Along with the contributions were pitiful appeals for "any kind of work" from these people who felt that such a sacrifice for such a big man as the governor would surely bring fruit.

The later history of Davey's administration saw the governor going hog-wild in his eagerness to increase his personal fortune. He organized, among other things, fake coal companies with nothing but letterheads. The state purchased coal which sold for over twice its cost. The highway department (popularly known in Ohio as the highway-robbery department) paid twice as much for "hot mix" road material as Ohio cities paid for the same material. Millions of dollars flowed into the Davey machine and into the pockets of various individuals friendly to the administration.

As a veteran journalist expressed it during one of the governor's lavish parties for capital newspaper correspondents: "He hasn't any more conception of state government than a newly arrived South African savage. He honestly believes that the election victory means that the state is now his personal property to be used as a feudal baron would use his domain."

The glib governor was easily transformed into a political adjunct of reaction. He campaigned for reelection on the slogan "I never call out the National Guard in any strike." But once elected by the decisive labor vote, Davey turned the bayonets and machine guns of the National Guard against Little Steel strikers. And for this service to Tom Girdler in 1937, he expects the Liberty League nomination for president in 1940.

To Davey's credit, his strategy in breaking the Little Steel strike in Ohio was cunning in the extreme. With the strike at its height, Davey dispatched thousands of Guardsmen into the Youngstown area to "maintain the status quo." The strikers, who were defending themselves against the terroristic attacks of deputized thugs, greeted the Guardsmen with cheers. As an indication of their willingr to cooperate the strikers retired from the gates of the silent steel mills which housed only a few company guards and cold furnaces. No sooner had they left the picket post than the Guardsmen herded every available scab into the mills.

The long-planned "back to work" movement was on. That night hundreds of strike leaders were jailed without bond and without formal charges.

With airplanes flying overhead and machine guns in strategic positions, the leaderless strikers were unable to reestablish a picket line. In similar fashion Davey assured the dictatorship of the steel trust in Cleveland, Canton, and Massillon. From then on, Davey's office in Columbus became the publicity headquarters of the most reactionary section of monopoly capital.

The steel strike had put Davey on the front pages of the newspapers throughout the country. He determined to remain there. Every speech, every action of the governor is designed to keep Davey in the public eye.

Accordingly, when he went to New York as guest of the utility magnate Wendel Willkie, the governor denounced the "Communistic CIO" on a nationwide radio broadcast. He told of Communists marching in armed hordes into the steel areas and of how he, the governor, had saved America from revolution. When the rubber workers sat down briefly in Akron, he lost no time in offering to send in the National Guard. He had hardly issued his Red-baiting statement to the assembled reporters and had just asked, "Do you think this will make the big wires?" when the announcement came through that the dispute was settled.

It is easy to understand why Wall Street would like to continue Davey's rule. He has been of immeasurable value in solving some of the most pressing personnel and tax problems that arise from the operation of giant mills, auto plants, and other industrial enterprises. Moreover, Davey is almost as colorful a front as Mayor Hague for the propagation of violent near-fascist propaganda. In a state where the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion have long been entrenched, where the Rev. Gerald K. Smith has recently arrived to bray his intentions of enlisting 100,000 Ohioans in his Committee of One Million, the reactionaries are anxious to hold their power. In addition, Ohio is a pivotal state in the all-important 1940 election.

Yet the Liberty League campaign in Ohio dares not put all its eggs in one basket. Its goal is to continue at any cost the rule of the "old Ohio gang"—the Harding political pirates who climaxed their manipulations in the Teapot Dome scandals. Despite Davey's service to the sixty families, he is not a perfect candidate. Nominally, the main camp of reaction is rooted in the Republican Party, and it is necessary to build a Republican machine for 1940. Also, the diversity of Davey's opposition makes him anything but a good bet.

So the same interests who so long ago dic-

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tated, through Ohio's Mark Hanna, who would be President, now are attempting to confront voters with the charge of two Liberty Leaguers in the coming election. With Davey the Democratic nominee, they have named John W. Bricker, the handsome attorney general, the Republican nominee. Since Bricker is running without opposition in the primaries, maximum forces can be mobilized behind Davey.

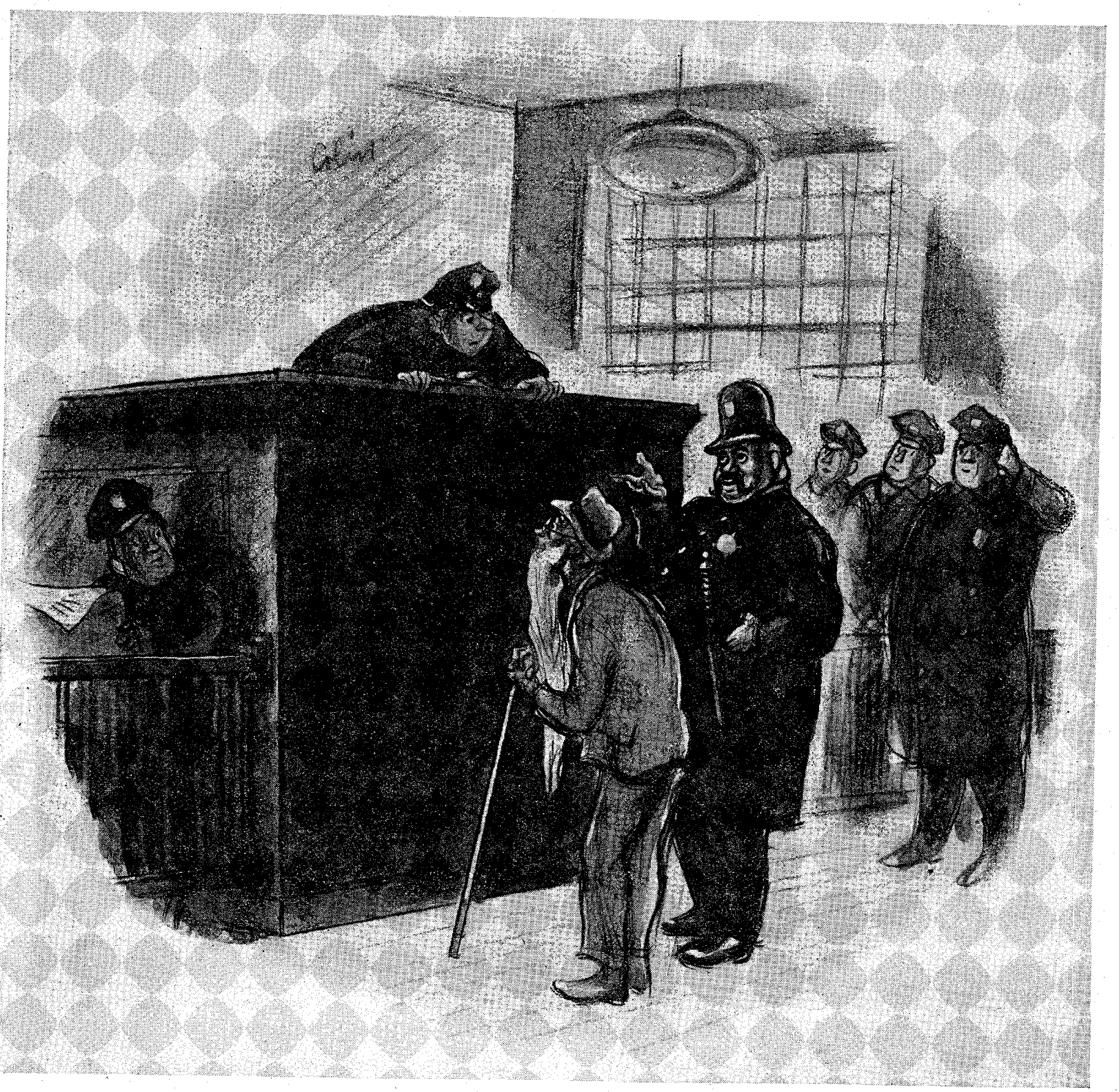
Only the firmest unity of all progressives behind Sawyer can beat Davey. To split the coalition, the present governor screams against the Reds, Revolution, and the CIO, hoping to win farmer and middle-class support. Above all, he is attempting to split the all-important united front of labor by winning Bill Green's approval. Davey figures that Green will be friendly to any candidate fighting the CIO.

But Martin Davey has miscalculated somewhat.

The CIO is organizing its 250,000 Ohio members for political action—something that has never before been done by any Ohio labor organization. It has behind it tremendous victories on the industrial field. It has fought successfully to put tens of thousands of unemployed on WPA. So the CIO is not as weak as Davey thought.

Farmers and many middle-class citizens may be suspicious of the CIO, but efforts to stir up a violent, crusading hatred have fallen pretty flat. The CIO is not the issue. And the "wild radicals" who lead it have not been "wild" enough to let the campaign become a fight between the CIO and Davey. On the contrary, they have rolled with the punches and disregarded most of the Davey slanders. John L. Lewis, most bitterly attacked, has said nothing during the campaign. He has declined invitations from infuriated union militants who wanted him to "come into Ohio and blast hell out of this tin-horn fascist."

The coalition developing against Davey is similar in many respects to that which defeated



"I finally nabbed the ringleader of these twelve-hour-day agitators."

Colin Allen

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Tammany Hall in the last New York municipal election. Progressive Democrats are rallying behind Sawyer. In some localities like Toledo, where progressives and anti-Davey Democrats are strong, they have taken over the entire Democratic machine against the incumbent. In most other large communities the regular Democratic organizations are split. Especially in trade unions and in sections where Labor's Non-Partisan League is strong, many Republicans are changing party affiliation to vote against Davey in the Democratic primaries. Farmers, who place economy as their main demand, have been alienated from Davey in large numbers by graft revelations.

When Davey came to a small town to speak recently, the Democratic leader in that rural area sent a $1 contribution to the Communist Party organizer in that section, suggesting it would be very nice if a picket line could be arranged to demonstrate against Davey. The not very reliable Scripps-Howard poll shows a close division between Davey and Sawyer in the farm areas.

No small factor in welding farmer-labor unity on this issue has been the activity of John Owens, head of both the Ohio Industrial Union Council and the Ohio Labor's Non-Partisan League, whose guttural drawling voice has been heard again and again conversing with leaders of farm organizations over the dining-room tables of Columbus hotels. Action by CIO and LNPL in behalf of farm measures has made many friends among Ohio farmers and rather dimmed the outlines of the Red bogeyman of the CIO.

Large sections of middle-class citizens, revolted by the Davey maladministration, are demanding a reform government through Sawyer. In addition there are all those unorganized progressives—civil-liberties defenders, the Cleveland followers of Tom Johnson, the thousands who have rallied to the aid of Spain and China. They recognize another Davey term would be twice as arrogant and terroristic. They campaign against such a contingency on the slogan that reelection means converting the entire state into an enlarged Jersey City.

Optimistic backers of the man who wants to be Liberty League President in 1940 claim they have the Negro vote in the bag. Nice jobs have been given to some prominent Negroes, and insiders explain Davey has bought up most of the Negro newspapers.

But here again there is no clear split away from the anti-Davey coalition. The majority of the Negro votes are still undoubtedly Republican on any issue except Roosevelt. And many of the thousands now swinging against Republicanism explain they are through selling their votes for the old political bunkum. Many were in the steel strike and cannot be bought, coerced, or clubbed into voting for Martin Davey.

Bill Green tried to fulfill Davey's dreams of a hopelessly split labor movement. Characteristically, the AF of L bureaucrat came into Ohio, beamed at the governor sitting beside him on the platform at the biennial convention of the International Association of Stage Employees and Motion Picture Operators (AF of L) and pompously praised that great friend of labor, Martin L. Davey, "who has backed every piece of pro-labor legislation."

But the applause was scattered.

Then old Tom Donnelly, secretary of the Ohio Federation of Labor, called a statewide conference of AF of L delegates. He had already virtually endorsed Davey and there was little secret about the expectations of certain AF of L chiefs that the governor would be endorsed with little or no opposition. But when the motion came to invite Davey to speak, it was greeted with groans, jeers, hoots, and hisses. And there was no endorsement.

George Harrison, president of the AF of L Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and T. C. Cashen, president of the Switchmen's Union of North America, both endorsed Sawyer without qualification. And then, when Daniel Tobin, president of the powerful Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen, and Helpers, with fifty thousand Ohio members, added his voice to the anti-Davey chorus, it became obvious that the Davey-Green strategy of splitting the AF of L away from the CIO on the primary election issue could never be carried out to any important extent. The rank-and-file pressure was evident.

A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, stepped forward to damn Davey as a "stooge of big business" who has slandered "decent leaders of labor" and "attacked the entire labor movement."

In many sections, LNPL will put on a genuinely significant campaign for Sawyer. It has county organizations in almost every large community. While few AF of L unions are affiliated, LNPL workers reach rank and filers in the AF of L when they work up and down the street in the wards and precincts. A large number of railway brotherhoods and AF of L members belong to LNPL. President of the Cleveland League, for instance, is Bernard McGroarty, president of the Stereotypers Union (AF of L) and a candidate for state senator.

In Southern Ohio, where thousands of organized miners are active, the League penetrates farming communities. Broad groups are affiliating. For instance, the Belmont County organization has as an affiliate a rod-and-gun club.

Throughout the campaign, LNPL workers struggle to master the difficult technicalities of practical ward politics. In Cleveland, it is estimated by LNPL Secretary A. E. Stevenson that one thousand workers go from door to door in their precincts two or three nights of every week.

Some county organizations already have their independent councilmen in office and enjoy the experience of the 1937 municipal campaigns.

The coalition is forming. It is handicapped by one factor which did not hamper the New York anti-Tammany campaign. In New York the progressives had a colorful, crusading candidate in La Guardia. But in Ohio, candidate Sawyer has not been a vigorous crusader. As one veteran daily newspaper political commentator wrote for his anti-Davey newspaper:

> So far, however, the interest in the primary campaign is at fever heat only among politicians. There are citizens in Ohio who don't know there is going to be a primary. . . . Most . . . have heard of Davey, either favorably or unfavorably, but there are some who never heard of Sawyer.

He was wrong in limiting the fever heat to politicians—thousands of citizens, especially working people, are working at fever heat, working against time to bring into fuller development the democratic-front coalition which can retire the Wall Street figurehead to private life and strike a stunning blow to the 1940 presidential strategy now being developed in the "best" clubs. And, while the picture is not yet clear enough to give odds, the political death of Gov. Martin L. Davey is a good even bet.

PRAYER AGAINST INDIFFERENCE

When wars and ruined men shall cease
To vex my body's house of peace,
And bloody children lying dead
Let me lie softly in my bed
To nurse a whole and sacred skin,
Break roof and let the bomb come in.

Knock music at the templed skull
And say the world is beautiful,
But never let the dweller lock
Its house against another knock;
Never shut out the gun, the scream,
Never lie blind within a dream.

Within these walls the brain shall sit,
And chew on life surrounding it;
Eat the soft sunlight hour and then
The bitter taste of bleeding men;
But never underneath the sun
Shall it forget the scream, the gun.

Let me have eyes I will not shut;
Let me have truth at my tongue's root;
Let courage and the brain command
The honest fingers of my hand;
And when I wait to save my skin
Break roof and let my death come in.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

★ ★ ★

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INSIDE FASCIST ITALY - II

Sicilian Peasants and Sulphur Miners

MARGARETA WEST

LATE at night I arrived in one of the sulphur towns of South Sicily—I need not mention its name—and rose very early the next morning. There were very few people in the street. The town was still asleep. When I had arrived the night before, I had stopped the car in front of the brightly lit bar. The boy who had sold me a packet of cigarettes at midnight the night before now stood in the doorway with a broom in his hand, whistling a tune. In the course of conversation I discovered that he was twelve years old and his father was a laborer in a village fourteen kilometers away. He started work at six o'clock in the mornings and finished at midnight. This brought him two lire weekly plus food and shelter. Better at least, said he, than having to work in the mines as *caruso* (hauler). "For the poor *carusi* are so worn out in a few years"—his gesture left no doubt as to his feelings on this point. This is what work in the mines looks like to this son of the people. He laughed as he said it, but it was a very unchildlike laugh.

This main street and the adjacent piazza form the actual town. Here are a few dozen handsome buildings, the headquarters of the authorities, the mines management, the bank branch, the tourist organization, the fascist party. Behind these another world begins. Here whole families live closely crowded together, three and four generations in one room, in cellar basements and in houses built half into the rock. In the gray dawn the men pack their tools on the ass, or carry them on their own backs, and start on the walk to the place of work, often two or three hours' journey distant. Only the women and small children remain at home. At harvest time these too go out to work, and everyone who has legs and arms to move takes a share. For weeks they camp out of doors in straw huts, or lie on the bare ground, wrapped in shawls. Sicily counts over four million inhabitants, the eleventh part of the total population of Italy, and while in Italy the average density of the population is 133 to the square kilometer, in Sicily it is 151.6. But what does "average" mean? In many rural districts the density of population rises to as high as twelve hundred inhabitants per square kilometer. In other districts the landscape is like an uninhabited desert: dreary heights bare of forest, mighty stretches of primeval land. Here the peasants live in town slums. There are scarcely any villages. Official statistics show that in Sicily nine-tenths of the population live in towns and townlike settlements, although more than one-half of the adult working population live from agricultural pursuits.

The uninhabited countryside begins immediately outside of the town. People may be seen working in the fields far away, and further still a flock of sheep are browsing. The town stands high on the hill, and the downhill road may be seen for miles.

This morning I could see a small red dot moving on the road: a little girl. I overtook her. The child was going to her father out in the fields. We walked side by side, and I heard the usual tale of a wretched home and under-nourishment, of a growing family, of lessening income, of illness, fear, and death. Soon we reached the father at his work in the fields, and two younger peasants came up, his brothers. Of course they were somewhat distrustful at first, but soon we were deep in conversation.

We talked of agricultural labor in Sicily. It is hard work, but not equally hard for all. A complicated structure, that of the Sicilian rural population. First come the large landowners, called *baroni* or *cavalieri* by the people. So far as I could learn, the *baroni* are the actual large estate owners, who live in the cities and only visit Sicily a few times yearly. The *cavalieri,* on the other hand, live in the capital of the province, and are a kind of rural nobility. Then come the *cavallacci,* tenant landlords, who rent the land from the *cavalieri* but rerent it immediately to the tenant farmers.

The conditions of tenancy are various. As a rule the landlord supplies the seed corn to the tenant farmer. The tenant and his family cultivate the land and deliver up a certain proportion of the crops as rent. Where the landlord supplies the sub-tenant with implements and draught animals, the tenant not having any of his own, or not sufficient, the quantity to be surrendered in rent increases proportionately and can amount to one-half of the crops or more. This sub-tenant may belong to the *burgisi,* a sort of intermediate stage between tenant farmer and agricultural laborer. But to be classed as a *burgisi* he must at least own a few mules, and a little money, and must possess a piece of land at least as large as that rented. If he owns less than this, he belongs only to the lower order of sub-tenants, the *bumm-ulari,* who are, however, still a little higher than the laborers, the *giornalieri,* who possess nothing at all.

The field on which we stood was owned by a *barone.* The great vine plantations in the direction of the town were also his property. I asked, apparently incidentally, if any of them had heard of limitations placed by the fascists on the right to own land. No, they did not think such a thing possible. Abruptly the conversation died down. The eldest peasant looked fixedly at me for some time. Then he pushed the two younger men on one side, and the little girl, too, disappeared into the straw hut.

"Tell me," he began, hesitatingly, "tell me quite honestly why you ask all these questions. What do you want from us? Where do you come from?" I could not deny that I came from abroad. We soon understood one another without many more words. And now it was his turn to ask questions. He wanted information about everything: about the war in Spain, about the People's Front in France, about the Soviet Union. The two younger peasants returned. He explained something to them in rapid dialect, and the questions continued without end.

Presently other land workers joined us. Many of them had traveled as far as the industrial towns of Northern Italy during the hunger years, and had returned as unemployed to Sicily. Never, in the past thirty to forty years, had conditions been so miserable here or the taxes so high. Where was the small tenant farmer to find the two hundred to three hundred lire in cash for the taxes? And then the other fees and levies. The compulsory inoculation of the sheep is certainly good, but dear: two lire per sheep. And if the animal is ill after the inoculation, or has to be slaughtered, this is a great loss which has to be borne by the peasant owner himself. In the old days less money was earned, perhaps, but the prices were lower, and they lived on a better scale. Now the children cry with hunger. There is no unemployment benefit for agricultural laborers. If the regular farm hands are out of work they get three lire per day for themselves and family, but only for the first three months. Those who have no land, and no relations in America to send money, must send their children into the fields to seek herbs so that the mother will have something to make a soup with.

And what do these people earn? As a rule it is six or seven lire daily, up to fourteen lire at most, for the laborers. In the case of the tenant farmers, it is difficult to calculate their earnings. They see very little ready-money, although the whole family shares in the work. But it is only necessary to look at them and their wretched holes of homes to see their want and misery. When I took leave, one old peasant shook my hand heartily. "Signorina," he said, "you come from another country. You know much more than we do. Tell me only one thing. How long are things here going to go on like this? How long can it continue?"

A year ago the Duce was in Sicily. The newspapers and the reception speeches were

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full of praise and thanks for what fascism has accomplished for Sicily; the Camorra had been abolished, streets and ports were being built, electrification schemes carried out. It may be true about the Camorra—for the fascists do not tolerate any competition in the country. And to a certain extent it is true, too, about the roads and ports, for strategically the position of Sicily is extremely important: only a 145-kilometer hop to Africa. The great ports, especially Syracuse and Palermo, send out daily great streams of traffic to the Italian colonies. Sicily lies about the same distance from Gibraltar, Suez, and Odessa.

But as soon as we leave the beautifully asphalted main roads of these towns, where the enthusiastic tourists roll along in their cars, and penetrate only a few hundred yards into the country behind them, we find rough paths full of holes, scarcely passable, and further up the hills there are only mule paths, a foot broad, steep, and stony. Everything is carried on mules: agrarian products, building materials, even sick people. Sicily has 20 percent of all Italian riding animals, but only 2.4 percent of the horned cattle—although pasturing is good.

Very little is to be seen in daily life of the much advertised electrification. The express trains are run by electricity almost everywhere, and the main streets of the large towns have electric lighting. But behind the main streets the stair-like alleys often lie in darkness; candles and smoky oil lamps are still burned in the houses, and the housewives are still cooking over the open coals. The sulphur mines, it is true, have been granted credits enabling them to introduce electricity. But it is used only for those parts of the process of production for which highly paid labor is indispensable. The haulage work is still done by children and old people.

I saw limestone being "ground" for building purposes—work certainly done anywhere else with the aid of some machinery, if only of a primitive nature. Here four men stand and hammer the stones with the flat end of a pick-ax till they are "ground." The wage for this work is five lire per day for an adult man. Again and again I have watched building work where there is not the simplest means of transport, even a wheelbarrow. The heavy materials have been carried about on the backs of boys—always boys.

Conditions are very much the same in agriculture; it is only in branches of work where the greater part of the labor has to be carried on by hand—for instance in the vineyards and for the *agrumi,* the cultivation of citrous fruits—that any great progress has been made in production. Nine-tenths of the total output of Sicily consists of citrous fruits. If we reckon only the oranges, the share falling to Sicily is three-fifths. Results are very different, however, with regard to the actual tillage of the soil. The soil of Sicily is on the average more intensively utilized for agricultural purposes than anywhere else in Italy. In Sicily 94.5 percent of the total area is cultivated in one way or another. The average for the whole of Italy is 92 percent. The area cultivated in Sicily is one-sixth of the total cultivated area in Italy. But in spite of this Sicily has the lowest yield per hectare. In the period 1932 to 1935 the average value of the yield per hectare was 14.8 value units. Sicily only achieved 10.59 value units. You still see peasants who work only with a hoe; the wooden plough, too, may be seen, though this turns the soil very superficially.

On the way back I passed a closed-down sulphur mine: a few great heaps, some lonely chimneys. The onetime furnaces lay dead in the sunshine, the earth all around blasted and barren, for where the evil smelling, poison-yellow sulphur is produced not a blade of grass will grow.

The few reporters and writers who have actually written about the sulphur mines in Sicily have invariably drawn comparisons with hell and its torments. I had always regarded such descriptions as exaggerated, and had resolved to refrain from such drastic comparisons. But then I passed half a day in a sulphur mine. I breathed the poisoned air, I felt the frightful oppression of the heat down in the earth, I saw men, old and young, little boys, stagger past, stooping beneath the blocks of yellow stone, faces from which exhaustion had wiped every trace of human expression. I heard the gasps wrung from the overworked and tormented bodies by every fresh stroke of the hammer. And I too can find no other comparison than this: it is hell!

Nevertheless, in order to keep pace to a certain extent with American sulphur in the world markets, the mine owners here have been obliged to introduce some improvements in the last five or six years. In the mine which I descended, for instance, the stone was hauled by little mine dogs for the last one hundred meters. This means that the haulers —*i carusi*—need not do the hauling over this last stretch, need not drag their sweating bodies further than the mouth of the drift, into the open air. And what is most dangerous to health is not the thick and poisoned air down the mine, not the heavy load, nor the discomfort of the cramped attitude when working, but the constant change of atmosphere between a heat which forces the perspiration out of the body in great drops—even mine, although I was only a spectator—

★ ★ ★

DRIVE INTO TOWN

With perfumed eyes we leave the clever country house
and mount to turn the dashboard jewels that warm
to an unwavering insolence of engine:

Loose the clutch and let the tiger spring,
we're past the gate, the stony animals, watchman's friendly gun,
high-stepping on the highway sloping north:

And here the sudden cats, the agate-eyeing scavengers,
the little wizards with their roadside gems,
and here some sprawling ruin of rabbit:

With high dispatch the curves are met and crossed,
the mumbling bridge above the loud horrendous stream,
and up and flashing comes a highway man, the doubtful driver:

(O masterful robber, take these few poor beads,
Cuff-links, bank notes snug in cordovan:
But hold, hold that starving universe behind your mask!)

And gone to our quick loosening of fear, his tail-light
signaling: CRISIS PAST: and now the mobilizing clouds
above the town are pink and throbbing with the townee light:

O, faster to its safety, faster to that guaranteeing light:
from house to theater is wilderness, is baron's fear
upon the lonesome medieval plain, is death

For speeding minutes to the citadels of furious fun,
the opera-hatted peer, the stock-exchange equal,
the common jeweled tiara on the jealous, reassuring head.

JOHN MALCOLM BRINNIN.

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and the outer air, which appears to be icy, even in summer.

And in this hell little boys still work; quite undeveloped and underfed children are working under the merciless drive of piecework rates. The lowest legal age is fifteen, and all the little boys you question are fifteen or even sixteen years old. And in the register kept in the office up above, you will not find any workers under the legal age. Certainly not! When the labor inspector descends the mine, solemnly conducted by the owner—though often enough he finds it more convenient not to go down at all, for it stinks frightfully—there are only adult men to bid him a respectful good-day. There are plenty of passages in the mines where a few dozen boys can disappear for an hour. At the present time there are about 150 mines being worked in Sicily, and about fifteen thousand sulphur miners are supposed to be employed in them. How many of these are children it is hard to discover. Thirteen hundred workers were employed in the mine I visited, and five hundred of these were "juveniles"—the official designation.

What do they earn here? "According to the work they perform," was the reply given by one of the engineers. "Five to six lire per day," said one of the boys. "Eleven lire," said an adult worker.

In the office I asked the bookkeeper about the deductions from wages. He took as a basis the "standard" wage of fourteen lire per day. The following amounts are deducted daily from this sum:

Disability insurance	0.15
Family allowance	1.04
Trade union	0.04
Winter relief work	0.10
Total	1.33

This amounts to approximately 10 percent of the wages.

This applies so long as they have work. But since the World War Italian sulphur production has declined steadily, especially the sulphur production of Sicily. The American product has already driven the Italian from all European markets. And then the natural conditions in Sicily are disadvantageous, and the technical equipment lags far behind the times. Before the World War the Sicilian sulphur mines had an annual output of about 325,000 tons, or seven-eighths of the total Italian output. The latest official figures available—from 1933—show the output to have dropped to 265,117 tons, or two-thirds of the total production. A scanty 150 mines of the former three hundred are still working. Unemployment is widespread, and there is no prospect that it will diminish. Unemployment benefit is given only to those who have been in full work for at least six months. If the work stops only a few days before the six months are full, the dismissed worker receives nothing. And even if he may count himself among the "fortunate" ones who can fetch their three lire daily, this good fortune lasts only ninety days—three months. Then the unemployed man is struck from the list of those entitled to benefit and disappears from the unemployment statistics. A common case is the following, told me by a sulphur worker:

"Ten months ago I and a dozen fellow workers were discharged. The 'chief' was very nice to us, and promised that the dismissal was only temporary. In six to eight weeks at most we should have work again; until then we should hold ourselves in 'reserve,' and on no account report ourselves as unemployed. Perhaps he believed this himself—perhaps not—in any case the result was that we did not report as unemployed within the legal term, and now we have no work and no unemployment benefit!"

The fascist totalitarian state presents a deceptively plausible façade. But it suffices to take a real look on the spot.

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"DER TAG"

THE military situation in the Danube Valley has, within the past six days, become very much worse than the Nazi authorities have permitted the British correspondents and hence the British public to imagine. From three informants—two of whom bear names which are familiar and famous in military circles, and the third whose name is known to very few people indeed, for reasons which are obvious—the *Week* has secured the following report on developments which by mid-August may be front-page headlines in a terrified press.

The Austrian end of the Vienna-Prague railway is under military control. Control was assumed on Monday last. On Thursday, freighters were informed that no trucks were available for civilian freight "for the time being." Big freighters on Monday morning were informed on inquiry that "no trucks are available for ten days."

War material, brought into Austria on the Passau-Linz-Vienna line during the past three weeks is being pushed up the Bratislava, Mistelbach, and Korneuburg-Stockerau-Hollabrunn lines to points between Vienna and the frontier.

So far as possible, the great mass of war material being shifted in the last week has been routed round Vienna—mostly southward by road. The Wienerwald is full of it.

Tanks, heavy artillery, anti-aircraft batteries, and motorized transport on a large scale is on the move, or awaiting further movement. A very large part of the material has been taken down to Wiener Neustadt, with portions of it distributed in the villages and small towns on, and east and west of, the Vienna-Wiener Neustadt road and railway.

Moedling and Baden-bei-Wien are packed with troops (eye-witnessed). Anti-aircraft batteries are concentrated at points the whole length of the Helenenthal.

Work on new fortifications—defensive—and offensive airdromes is being carried on by mixed labor corps—composed partly of the local peasantry, partly of unemployed Viennese conscripted for it.

The labor day is fourteen hours.

At Gmund, almost the nearest point of the old Austrian frontier to Prague, peasants have been turned off the land over large areas for the purpose of fortification construction.

Near Laxenburg houses are being demolished at great speed and preparations for construction of underground hangars are far advanced.

Underground airdromes have also been visited by the compilers of this report at Linz and Wels.

Information—first-hand but, as in all such cases, not absolutely reliable—from Nazi officials suggests that August 15 is the date they have been given as the moment when the "big push" will start.

(Note by Editor: This checks with information in the possession of the British Embassy in Paris which four days ago reported August 10-15 as the period within which General Staff and Nazi Party discussions suggested the "push.")

German Nazis in Austria are concentrating on a campaign to raise *Stimmung* against Czechoslovakia. They (bearing out our report of last week on the motives for the new Nazi intransigeance) state: "We shall flick away the Czechs like flies with a damp towel" (this phrase is used so often it is evidently a "central directive" distributed to the propagandists).

A popular line is the following—bruited carefully around the country pubs and market places: "Chamberlain is with us now and will soon deprive the French of the dominion status they now enjoy" (pause for peasant laughter).

There is nothing to suggest that the Nazis can rely on the support of the Austrian population in the event of war. It is not exaggerated to say that the Western powers can count on very considerable assistance behind the German lines in Austria.

Apart from the serious manifestations of organized wage movements, distribution of the Communist newspaper, etc., observers in the factories report anti-Prussian feeling exhibiting itself in the smallest details of daily life. On the day after the Louis-Schmeling fight—after Nazi radios had ballyhooed Schmeling and impending victory as a politico-racial affair—workingmen meeting in the Vienna workshops gave the obligatory Hitler salute and whispered "Heil Louis."—THE WEEK, *July 20.*

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355,900,000 COPIES

EDITIONS of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin in the Soviet Union are increasing year by year. Altogether, in twenty years, the USSR published 355,900,000 individual books and pamphlets in eighty-five different languages, by these four men. The figure for 1937 alone is 49,000,000.

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Readers' Forum

For a Health Program

TO NEW MASSES: Your editorial "For a Health Program" [July 26] contains a misstatement of fact: ". . . while scientific progress has made possible the control of various diseases, there has been no proportionate reduction in needless suffering and unnecessary loss of life."

Without questioning the inadequacy of the medical care available to a large section of the population, the lack of hospital facilities, etc., on which we see eye to eye, I invite you to compare the number of deaths from diphtheria in New York City last week with that of the same week thirty years ago. Similar gains may be cited in the maternal and neo-natal death rates, the incidence of blindness due to ophthalmia neonatorum, cerebrospinal meningitis, smallpox, tuberculosis, and a host of other onetime devastating scourges now brought under control and in some cases practically eradicated by our admittedly inadequate public health services. These facts are well known to the most superficially informed laymen. To deny them, as you do, must injure your otherwise unexceptionable statement in the eyes of those who still have to be convinced.

That there is room for further progress, even Morris Fishbein will agree. That greater progress could be made under another social system is not susceptible of proof. Our Scandinavian contemporaries have done pretty well within the framework of this thoroughly discredited and decrepit one.

New York City. ABRAHAM SEAMOR, M. D.

The Editors Reply

THE editorial referred to by Dr. Seamor did not deny that gains had been made in reducing needless suffering and unnecessary loss of life. It did insist, however, as Dr. Seamor's own quotation shows, that this reduction has not been *proportionate* to the rate of scientific progress. There is abundant proof for this statement. Paul de Kruif's recently published *The Fight for Life* points out, for example, that even though a simple cure has been devised for pellagra, this disease "killed at least three thousand citizens, black and white," in 1935, which is the last year of record. Dr. Seamor cites the decrease in maternal death rates. But de Kruif shows that more than fifteen thousand mothers die in this country with childbirth the direct cause of their death; hundreds of thousands of mothers are incapacitated; more than 85,000 babies die while being born. This loss, according to Dr. Sigerist of the Johns Hopkins University, is entirely unnecessary. It is due to the fact that "maternity hospitals are expensive." Moreover, "it costs money to train competent obstetricians and many of them could not make a living under the present competitive system." While there has been a notable reduction in the tuberculosis death-rate, to take another example, it is still one of the most frequent causes of death, especially of younger people. We have it on high medical authority that "Slum clearance, the creation of decent living and working conditions, would soon eliminate tuberculosis." Dr. de Kruif's book examines many such instances where the rate of social progress has lagged far behind the rate of scientific progress in medical care.

It is just because of this lag that the fight for a national health program takes on such significance today. We have not begun to take advantage of scientific progress.

Dr. Seamor adds that nobody can prove that more progress could be made under another social system. We invite him to read Dr. Sigerist's *Socialized Medicine in the Soviet Union.* But the point to be made here is that even under capitalism much greater progress can be made. If we did not believe this, we would not support the President's national health program, which is an important step in the right direction. Recent studies by government technicians reveal that the 40,000,000 persons in this country in families with annual incomes under $800 cannot pay for medical care. At least half the present toll of mothers' deaths in child-bearing are preventable with proper prenatal care and medical services in delivery. The anti-monopoly report of the Assistant Attorney General states that the enormous difference in the mortality records of low-income and high-income families "is *prima facie* evidence that the medical profession, as it is now organized, is not providing them with adequate care." We are convinced that two steps are necessary to ensure progress in medical care: First, securing a higher standard of living for the American family. Second, reorganization of the medical profession to provide medical care for the entire population.

THE EDITORS.

The Aryanized Axis

TO NEW MASSES: Apropos of your editorial in this week's issue about the Aryanization of the fascist axis, you might be interested in a conversation I had with a young Japanese about a year ago. He had been sent over to the Peiping Japanese Embassy soon after the Liukouchiao incident because he spoke excellent German and English. He was a part of a special corps organized to control the press, keep us satisfied and without facts. He had not long before returned from Germany, and I was talking with him about the life there. Oh, yes, he had attended the University of Munich and had been given a bachelor's degree.

"But," I expostulated, "I thought that due to their race theories they didn't give degrees to foreigners." I may even have used the term non-Aryan.

"You don't understand," he replied in that hurt seriousness that many Japanese display. "It's true—they don't. But you see we Japanese are very much respected by the Germans. In the matter of university degrees, they consider us honorary Germans, yes, 'honorary Aryans,' if you like."

So much for high-flown race theories. They seem to be extremely subservient to politics.

Six years ago I spent an extended summer in Italy, and I happened to know well several Italian Jewish intellectuals. They and their friends discussed the subject of the Jew in Italy quite freely, and they assured me that there was no Jewish problem or situation in the country. In the first place, they explained, Italy had very few Jews and there was therefore nothing to be anti-Semitic about. And what few Jews there were were so intermarried with Italians (and around Trieste with Austrians) that no one knew who was a Jew and who wasn't.

That Mussolini has found it necessary to play up a "Jewish bogey" seems to me far more significant than mere imitation of what is fast becoming his big brother to the north. There are few people today who do not realize that mass persecutions are little more than attempts to divert attention from economic and social ills. And perhaps this campaign in Italy is a better indication of the country's situation, at home and in Abyssinia and Spain, than all the fixed-up balance sheets that Mussolini has given his public and the world at large. He must be in a bad situation indeed, he must already have run a complete gamut of the tricks of diversion and scapegoatery to be trying this one, successful perhaps in pre-revolutionary Russia, and in modern Germany and Austria, but certainly not applicable to his own country.

Winsted, Conn. ROBERT M. MACGREGOR.

Goon Squad Raids

TO NEW MASSES: We were upstairs at the Communist Party waterfront headquarters when the first crash sounded. Running down, we were just in time to see five men leave the building. They had wrecked the hall, throwing chairs against the wall, overturning desks, smashing typewriters, and had left the few surprised people who had been sitting in the hall with bruises and aching heads.

That is the way the group which has organized against the progressives in the National Maritime Union work. They want it to appear that they are only out after the Communists. In reality, they had just come from the same sort of a raid on the NMU headquarters about two blocks away.

It is well known who sent the band. "Goon" Kelly was among them, and Kelly has been active in the phony "rank-and-file" group which has been doing the dirty work for the shipowners-Joseph P. Ryan coalition. Ryan has ordered his strong-arm squad to wreck CP offices on other occasions.

There is a cure for this sort of violence. Progressives can help militant unionists in their fight against goon squads by writing District Attorney Dewey and demanding an immediate investigation of the terrorism on the West Side of New York City, and especially of the waterfront strong-arm squads.

New York City. PHYLLIS GREEN.

Father O'Flanagan in Flint

TO NEW MASSES: Two or three hundred daring souls of Flint, Mich., were honored in hearing Father Michael O'Flanagan on his short visit to the United States in behalf of the duly elected government of Spain.

This group, which makes a particular effort to bring liberal thinkers of international repute—men who speak to many thousands in other cities—is most appreciative of such men.

The local audience for Father O'Flanagan should have numbered thousands; however, pressure had been put on certain groups to boycott the meeting; they were told that he had been an "unfrocked" priest for fifteen years.

Father O'Flanagan readily admits three suspensions because of activities for the Irish republic; his last reinstatement was in 1927; three reinstatements speak volumes for his value to his church, to which he has been restored for the past eleven years.

The film *Blockade* has thus far been blocked to Flint audiences. It just happened that Father O'Flanagan saw the picture on the liner coming over; he tells us that the picture is just what it intends, a scathing indictment of civilian bombings, and recommended that we all see it.

The good Father advised Catholics, as well as Protestants, to accept their faith from their church, but not to allow "presumptuous" teachers to warp their own good judgment in what is right or wrong in political and social problems and urged that we defend what is right, even if it does appear "left."

One of the audience remarked: "How all religious bitternesses melt in the warmth of that man's spirit."

Flint, Mich. C. C. PROBERT, M.D.,
Flint Committee to
Aid Spanish Democracy.

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REVIEW AND COMMENT

Virginia Woolf: Educated Man's Daughter

London.

Two books have appeared recently over here, whose popularity is an index of middle-class interest in the questions of war and peace as they affect women—Eric Linklater's novel, *The Impregnable Women,* and Virginia Woolf's *Three Guineas.* There is nothing at all in common between these two writers except their subject. Linklater is the tough, middle-brow satirist, the author of *Don Juan in America,* who has achieved popularity because his satire goes deep enough to tickle but not deep enough to wound; he wields the bludgeon lustily enough at times, but his blows are aimed scrupulously at the protected parts of his opponent's anatomy, and so the public receives the impression that it's all a game and may the best man win and thank God it's a clean fight with no hitting below the belt. Virginia Woolf, on the other hand, is a serious and in many ways admirable writer, even though —as another English critic has lately put it —the sounds of the real world are muted through her writings into a delicate, distant hum, as though heard through the whorls of a seashell. It is, I think, a mistake on the part of our more bellicose left critics to dismiss her sort as "wallowing in a bog of subjectivism"; to put it at the lowest possible estimate, her "subjectivism" has helped to enlarge the scope of the novel; her characters, certainly, are drawn from a tiny section of the people, and no attempt is made to relate them, save by implication, with society as a whole; but this goes equally for Jane Austen.

The Impregnable Women need not detain us long. Borrowing a leaf from Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (or, some might say, issuing a cheap edition of it), Linklater imagines the European war having broken out and settled down into a stalemate. Certain female pioneers put their heads together and finally persuade the women of the country that the only way to get peace is to withhold their favors from the men until the poor dears, in desperation, are compelled to stop their silly quarreling. The book begins seriously and effectively. But, after the pick of the lovelies have barricaded themselves in Edinburgh Castle (the seat of government has been transferred to Edinburgh), the whole thing becomes more and more unreal and flippant and finally degenerates into a regular romp. Satire of this kind is dangerous, because it throws a smoke-screen in front of the real issues involved. "Look here, chaps," it seems to say, "what are you making such a fuss about? War's very terrible and all that, of course; but it's your own fault for being so stupid and pugnacious; just let the girls stop going to bed with you for a bit, and you'd soon change your tune." To be morally effective, satire must always place the folly and littleness and injustice of man against the background of his own potential greatness. Otherwise, like those popular handbooks of science which stress man's insignificance in the enormous universe of time and space, it is in danger of destroying the nerve for action, of breeding the state of mind which says, "Oh, what's the use? It's all the same in a hundred light-years."

Virginia Woolf, though she allows herself some ironic by-play, does not romp with her subject. The blurb of *Three Guineas* runs as follows: "Mrs. Woolf received three separate requests for a guinea. One was from the treasurer of a society who asked her opinion as to how to prevent war and for a subscription to his society for the preservation of peace and of civil and intellectual liberty. One was from the treasurer of a women's college, and the other from the treasurer of a society for obtaining employment for professional women. The book is an attempt to trace the connection between the three requests, and to discover upon what terms the three guineas should be given." As a result of this book, Mrs. Woolf has been hailed by at least one London paper as in the tradition of the great English pamphleteers. Let us see how she goes about her work.

In the first place—and this exemplifies the great virtue of our liberal writers—she defines her own position very clearly and does not pretend to speak for anyone but that small section of the people she represents, the liberal-minded intelligentsia. She approaches her subject as, in her own phrase, "the educated man's daughter": the phrase is intended to remind us that, until twenty years ago, there was no such thing as the "professional woman," and, in consequence, the influence of women upon politics and "affairs" was necessarily an indirect one, confined to the salon, the boudoir, and the bed. She sees as clearly as any Marxist that economics lay at the root of this disability; that, until it was possible for a woman to throw off the economic domination of the male by earning her own living, she could never hope to play more than a courtesan's part, at most, in public affairs. Mrs. Woolf points delicately the paradox that women achieved this new influence and independence through the process of assisting men in that very activity which most of all they should deplore: it was not women's suffrage but the Great War which threw open the professions to women. And she suggests, with considerable justice, that it was first and foremost the wish to escape from male domination that drove the "educated man's daughter" into those feverish wartime activities: "So profound was her unconscious loathing for the education of the private house with its cruelty, its poverty, its hypocrisy, its immorality, its inanity that she would undertake any task however mental . . . that enabled her to escape. Thus consciously she desired 'our splendid empire'; unconsciously she desired our splendid war."

So far, so good; and Mrs. Woolf is prepared to go further. She is prepared to recognize the relative helplessness of these middle-class professional women, in spite of their new-found independence: "Not only are we incomparably weaker than the men of our own class; we are weaker than the women of the working class. If the working women of the country were to say: 'If you go to war, we will refuse to make munitions or to help in the production of goods,' the difficulties of warmaking would be seriously increased. But if all the daughters of educated men were to down tools tomorrow, nothing essential either to the life or to the warmaking of the community would be embarrassed. Our class is the weakest of all the classes in the state. We have no weapon with which to enforce our will." Exactly. And what should follow? Surely it should follow that, if such women wish to stop war, they should join up with those working women who, she admits, really have a weapon with which to enforce their will; they should ally themselves, either by joining a Socialist political party or by pressing for a progesssive popular front, with that working-class movement which alone can give force and direction to the peace-will to the middle class.

But no. Though she has handed herself the material for making this conclusion, Mrs. Woolf does not make it. Let us try to discover the reasons why she, and presumably that small but not uninfluential body of women she represents, still refuse to draw this conclusion. And let us consider afterwards the reasons she herself gives for hesitating even to promise active support to a society

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which aims at the prevention of war. First, when in the extract quoted above she says, "Our class is the weakest of all classes in the state," I get the impression that she is referring not so much to the professional middle class as to the women of that class with the accent on *women*. She is thinking throughout her essay, not in terms of class antagonism, but of sex antagonism. War, dictatorship, economic oppression fail—comparatively speaking—to get her goat; but, when she begins to speak about the stupidity and arrogance of the male sex in their dealings with women, then a militant gleam appears in that blue, impartial, ice-queen's eye of hers, and the fur starts flying. Though she admits an economic cause of women's helplessness, she does not seem to feel in her bones the economic basis of sociey. Secondly, therefore, she places too little stress upon the economic root of war, too much stress upon man's individual pugnacity, possessiveness, competitiveness, etc. From this attitude it follows in turn that she looks upon war as War pure and simple, making no distinction between men who fight for their own freedom and men who compel others to fight for their own profits. Until that distinction is made, until the *primary* economic basis of class society and war is realized, the "educated man's daughter" will not understand the necessity of making common cause with the working women who have in their hands a powerful weapon against capitalist war.

Mrs. Woolf, though, not merely fails to envisage this possibility. She will give no more assistance than one guinea to a society, composed of professional people, which aims to preserve peace and intellectual liberty. What are her reasons? She has just consigned the word "feminist" to the flames; yet feminism seems to remain her chief argument. "Different we are, as facts have proved, both in sex and in education. And it is from that difference . . . that our help can come, if help we can, to protect liberty, to prevent war. But if we . . . become active members of your society, it would seem that we must lose that difference and therefore sacrifice that help." Or again, on another tack, ". . . is there not something in the conglomeration of people into societies that releases what is most selfish and violent, least rational and humane in the individuals themselves?" Society, Mrs. Woolf argues, has been harsh to women in the past; therefore let them avoid anything in the nature of a society. Surely there is something very illogical here—and a strong whiff of intransigent feminism mingled with the laughing gas of liberal anarchism.

On the next page Mrs. Woolf is compelled to modify her position. Now it is, let us have nothing to do with a *male* society, let the daughters of educated men form an "Outsiders' Society" of their own, "working in their own class—how indeed can they work in any other? (!)—and by their own methods for liberty, equality, and peace." What are their methods to be? They must refuse to fight, to make munitions, to nurse the wounded; they must "maintain an attitude of complete indifference" towards their belligerent brothers; they must analyze their own unregenerate feelings of "patriotism" in the light of reason, history, property, law. This analysis will convince the "educated man's daughter" that "her sex and class has very little to thank England for in the past; not much to thank England for in the present; while the security of her person in the future is highly dubious." She will conclude that "in fact, as a woman, I have no country. As a woman I want no country. As a woman my country is the whole world." An admirable conclusion, so far as it goes; but why does it have to stop at this feminine isolationism? Does the educated man's daughter have to remain an "outsider"?

We say, no. We say that it is an important task for the working-class movement in every country to draw such women into its ranks; to direct their hatred of dictatorship, so finely expressed by Mrs. Woolf, away from the mere hatred of male domination into the channels where it may be most practically effective; to convince them that their peace activities will be most valuably undertaken in cooperation with their brothers, not in sex-isolation from them; to change, above all, Mrs. Woolf's "as a woman I have no country" into "as a worker, as a lover of equality and justice, as a hater of sham and tyranny, I have no country, I want no country, my country is the whole world."

C. Day Lewis.

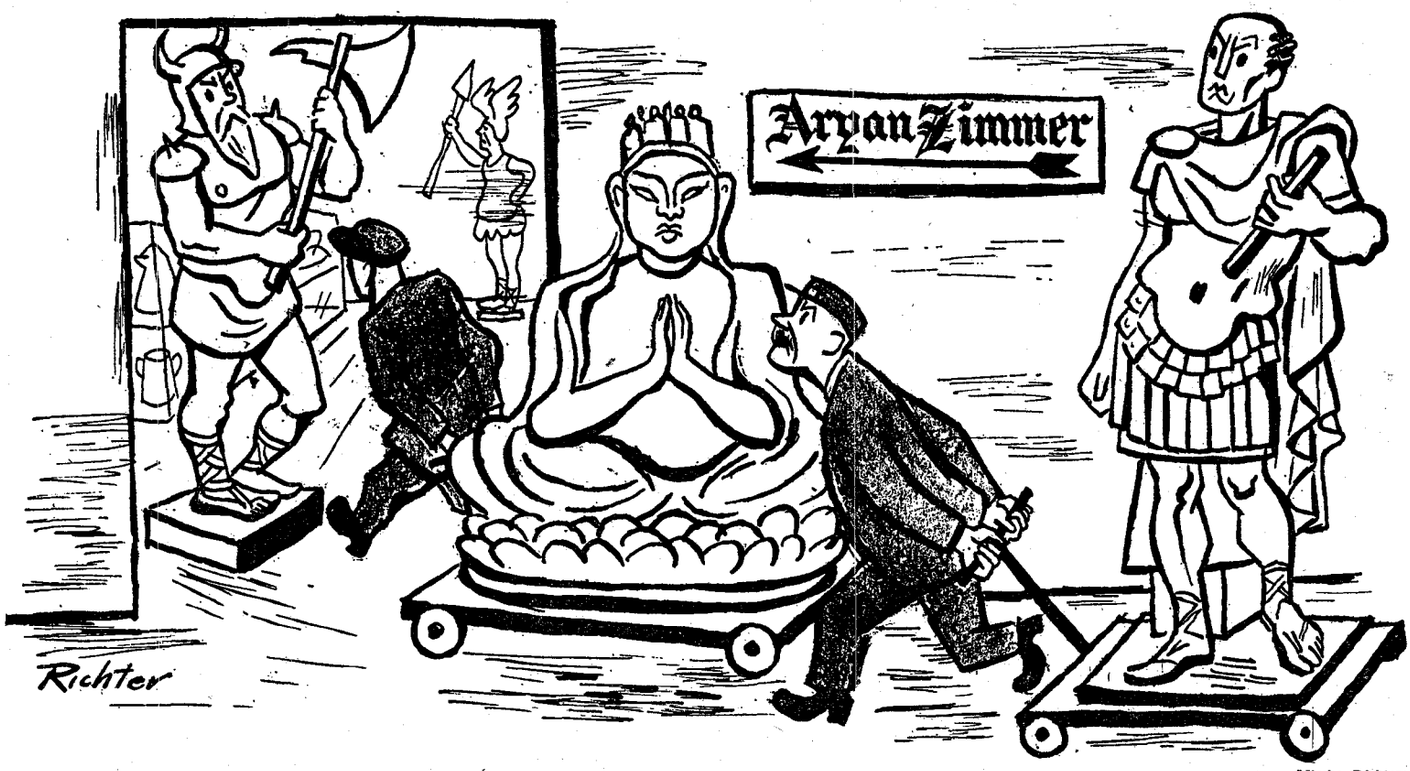
Two Studies of Anti-Semitism

Where Now, Little Jew?, *by Magnus Hermansson. Bonnier. $2.50.*

The New Poland and the Jews, *by Simon Segal. Lee Furman. $2.00.*

Mr. Hermansson's is a very offensive book; it is only my duty as a reviewer that drove me to read it through. There is such a deal of nonsense in it that one is reminded of Stalin's wittily impatient comment, "Paper will put up with anything that is written on it."

In essence, and stated as objectively as I can, his thesis is this: The cause of Jew-



Mischa Richter

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baiting is the Jews. The cure for Jew-baiting is the liquidation of the Jews. He is, however, opposed to the violent extermination of the Jews. Therefore, "There is no other choice for the Jews than these two: either to become completely one with their host or to emigrate to Palestine, insofar as it is possible." He proves that Palestine cannot solve the Jewish problem (with this we should agree). His proffered solution is assimilation: "the word 'assimilation' here refers to the most despised, the most far-reaching form, absorption into the national whole . . . assimilation at any price, the assimilation which includes baptism, mixed marriage, and 'unfailing loyalty to the mother country, its people and its culture' . . ." The reason the Jews breed anti-Semitism is that they are "arrogant" because of the influence of Talmudism and "Talmudic chauvinism." It is the Eastern Jews especially, with their "Asiatic manners" and "Oriental physiognomies," who give all Jews a bad name; it was the invasion of these Eastern Jews into Germany that prevented the German Jews from becoming properly assimilated. Well, then, all the Jews must be converted to Christ. (To conversion he adds another alternative, the Jews can all migrate to Africa and Asia and be absorbed there; but he doesn't relish this possibility because the Jews would then organize an international conspiracy to lead the colored races in a war against the whites!) Note that, according to Mr. Hermansson, the Jews must be converted to Christ, *not* to Christianity. For you have to convert the Christians to Christ too: "The 'Christians,' as they now are, can never influence the Jews so that the latter change their character. Both parties much change entirely, i.e., be possessed by the spirit of Christ." Mr. Hermansson is hopeful: "Several Christlike men have already appeared in America and exercised an influence on millions of people, e.g., Stanley Jones and Frank Buchman."

Perhaps we may leave Mr. Hermansson here. Stanley Jones, it is interesting to note, has had to supplement his missionary work among the Chinese with fervent appeals to American aid to China and the boycott and embargo of Japan. The Oxford Group movement may fill some need of human beings distraught by contemporary horrors, but it has its own anti-Semitic and pro-fascist implications (not unknown to Mr. Hermansson). What is wrong with this whole religious interpretation of anti-Semitism and its religious solution is that Mr. Hermansson nowhere understands *that hatred of the Jews is bred on the idea that the non-Jew and the Jew are competing for something which only one of them can have; and that Jew-baiting is a technique for preventing both the Jewish and non-Jewish masses from obtaining the peace and plenty they both can and should have.* Stalin and the Soviet Union have solved the problem because they understood this material basis for national oppression. And if Mr. Hermansson wants to convert Christians to friendliness for the Jews, we suggest

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he begin by teaching the Christian masses that they can satisfy their material (and spiritual) needs *only* by fighting with and not against the Jews.

It is a grasp of this basic idea that gives so much point to Mr. Segal's scholarly study of the new Poland and the Jews. Mr. Segal senses the fundamental issue. In his preface, he writes: "The system of democracy . . . faces the system of centralized authoritarian control." He studies not only the effect of anti-Semitism upon the Jews, "but what it is doing to non-Jews." He concludes that "anti-Semitism hurts those who use it just as much as it hurts those it is used against." His conclusion, based upon facts, is convincing. The central theme of his book is his opposition to the idea that the problem of the Polish Jews *and the problem of the Polish non-Jews* can be solved by the emigration of the Jews from Poland, or by continuous economic oppression. An excellent chapter upon the economic conditions of the masses of Poland, and further material on how the persecution of the Jews has always been accompanied by a further reduction of living standards for the non-Jews, supports this thesis. It is a defect of the book that there is so little (almost nothing) on the Polish trade-union movement and other organizations of Polish workers and peasants; similarly his account of the political history of Poland from 1919 to the present is superficial in its inability to present a clear picture of the relationship of class forces and in its failure to find out and to present the role of the Communist Party of Poland (Mr. Segal implies that it is unimportant because it is underground!). Nevertheless, he arrives at sound conclusions both in domestic and foreign policy.

Domestically he sees this: "If all the national minorities joined with Polish labor and the other democratic forces to fight in a common front for human rights and civic equality, this fight could still be won." In Poland's foreign policy he notes the dynamics involved: "The present masters of Poland tend toward a totalitarian and racist dictatorship. Such a dictatorship could not fail to find itself opposed not to Russia merely but to the democracies of the world. The encouragement of the liberal and democratic section of Poland, in their difficult but by no means hopeless fight to liberalize Poland, by the free peoples of other lands, would be insurance against this contingency." Mr. Segal thus sees the solution in democracy for Poland, and in the international cooperation of democracies against aggression. Mr. Segal wishes to prevent Poland from becoming part of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis. So do all peace-loving Jews and Americans. We look to the progressive forces in Poland, who are becoming increasingly active, to do their share; but we must also realize *our* responsibility and exert our pressure to have our government step forth into the international arena as a force for peace and democracy abroad and at home.

The contrast between the works of Mr. Hermansson and Mr. Segal provokes a final reflection: Mr. Segal, beginning with a realistic examination of living conditions of Jews and non-Jews in one particular country, comes to sound conclusions for all countries; Mr. Hermansson beginning with a casual survey of anti-Semitism in all countries as owing to the Jews' original sin of having rejected Christ, ends by a futile proposal and by an attitude of mind that may lead him to becoming a conscious (as he is perhaps an unconscious) anti-Semite. Thus the struggle between democracy and fascism is ideologically reflected in the struggle between the scientific materialistic technique of sociological investigation and the pseudo-religious idealistic method. Mr. Segal is an active friend of the Jews and democracy; Mr. Hermansson professes a repulsive friendship for Jews if-they-will-turn-to-Christ, and says nothing about democracy.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES.

Railroad Monopolists

THE BIG FOUR, *by Oscar Lewis. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.50.*

A SKINFLINT bookkeeper, a dishonest hardware merchant, a beefy straw-boss, heavy on muscle and short on brains, and a crooked politician reluctantly parted with a little of their easily earned California gold-dust, in 1859, to back the idea of a visionary engineer—Theodore Judah—who wanted to build a railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The engineer did all the hard work. He surveyed the high mountains. He spent his own money going to Washington to sell conservative legislators on the wild notion that a steam engine could cross the Sierra Nevadas. He talked and wrote pamphlets and risked his life climbing granite cliffs to mark out the path of the coming railroad.

Then Mark Hopkins, the bookkeeper, Collis P. Huntington, the hardware merchant, Charles Crocker, the straw-boss, and Leland Stanford, the politician, formed the Central Pacific Railroad (afterwards the Southern Pacific Railroad) and allowed Judah to get government funds for the laying of the iron rails across the continent. Before the first forty miles of track were laid, as government funds began to roll in, the capitalists got rid of the man of vision—Judah was fired because he insisted on building a good railroad instead of an enormously profitable one. The ex-engineer for the Central Pacific Railroad died of yellow fever on his way back to New York, and the field was left open to the grasping hands of the four partners.

The rest of the story of the building of the Coast-to-Coast railroad is epic, certainly—epically ugly. The great monopolists of the West Coast couldn't even build a good railroad—most of the roadbeds and trestles and ties they built or laid had to be replaced before

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the road was safe. The Chinese coolies who sweated in the desert and froze in the mountains were classically underpaid and overworked by straw-boss Crocker who often drove them to their death on precarious cliffs or in half-driven tunnels.

The four men who owned the Central Pacific Railroad contributed neither the idea nor the courage, nor very much of the capital, to the building of the great American railroad. But they reaped the enormous, fabulous profits. They ended up with a stranglehold on the whole state of California and for generations they could make or break (it was generally the latter) any businessman on the West Coast. The whole population paid tribute to these hard-fisted bloodsuckers, who did not even have the taste or energy to spend their money on anything except stupendously ugly mansions, bad pictures, and European princes for their female relatives.

The Big Four is popular biography. The stories of the four profiteers are told with plenty of flourish. The author knows his local "color" and the book has fascinating chapters on the details of an early railroad ride across the continental divide—with the passengers in deadly fear of Indians, wrecks, alkali dust, freezing temperatures, and card sharps.

Mr. Lewis knows his material—but does not have the slightest understanding of it. He writes about his four heroes with self-conscious irony, criticizes their mansions, but touches only lightly on their astounding landsteals. He has a sneaking sort of admiration for the men who coined so many millions, and only the most cursory interest in the farmers who died fighting the Southern Pacific monopoly, the San Francisco workers who revolted time and again against Stanford and Huntington, Crocker and Hopkins.

The Big Four is a surprisingly dated book to be hot off the press in August 1938. Mr. Lewis might be writing in 1905, with the earliest of the "muckrakers," for all he understands of the operation of monopoly capital in America. He sees the owners of the Central Pacific Railroad as four isolated, and for all their faults, somewhat engaging villains, operating in a complete vacuum. He apparently believes that the Western railroads turned honest in 1910—at least he makes no attempt to connect the monopoly of early California with the present and equally strong-minded and strong-handed owners of California agriculture and industry.

Mr. Lewis' book might have been a literary sensation in 1910. Now *The Big Four* is slightly ridiculous beside *The Robber Barons* and *The Politicos,* or *Rulers of America,* or any one of a half dozen other excellent and understanding studies of the roots of American industry.

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Double Exploitation

A SOUTHERNER DISCOVERS THE SOUTH, *by Jonathan Daniels. The Macmillan Company. $3.*

MR. DANIELS discovered that mill-owners in the Carolinas build cyclone fences around even the playgrounds of workers' children. He found in Georgia "scrawny humans hardly fit for oppression." Almost everywhere he saw exhausted land, poverty, malnutrition. He discovered the Coca-Cola and Cardui palaces, symbols of the wealth to be made in the South from selling "a cheap luxury or a promise of cheap surcease from pain."

More than anything, the author discovered Northern capital. There were "little towns . . . bonding themselves to build little factories for foreign promoters who would pay sweaty wages." Atlanta was a capital of overseers for absentee owners. Northern millionaires had supplanted rice as the cash crop in South Carolina. And Southern bourbons still clamored—offering subsidies, tax exemptions, "cheap and contented labor"—for more Yankee industrialization. Even Southern charm, become self-conscious and over-quaint, was on the market to Northern tourists. The result of all this is a double exploitation, by bosses within and without the South.

The explorer's responses to his discoveries are confused. He clearly recognizes that the Southern poor white and the Negro must rise together; yet he is far from free of a paternalistic view which takes its worst expression in his eulogy of a certain Mississippi planter, of whom Daniels says solemnly, "I had the feeling that Percy loved his Negroes as another gentleman might love dogs. . . ." Toward unionism—CIO unionism—he is on the whole sympathetic; it pleases him particularly to realize that the industrial promoters will not find labor as docile as they hope; but there is no real conviction of the labor movement's potentialities for the South. Certainly his portraits of the few union organizers he interviewed do not compare in warmth with those of a handful of gentlemen who still preserve the "aristocratic ideal" of "integrity and responsibility." Opposed to Girdlerism and contemptuous of those industrial overseers who serve first their foreign masters while they scream about foreign labor agitators, Daniels still cannot help admiring "that violence which . . . is essential to the heroes of history and poetry" in Birmingham's most outspoken Girdler, Charles DeBardeleben of Alabama Fuel & Iron. Besides, Mr. DeBardeleben was a "personality." This search, all

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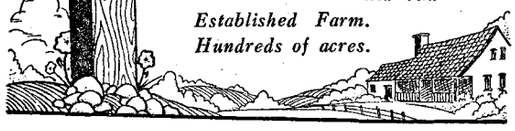

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along his expedition, for personalities, drama, uniqueness, and paradox, for the uproarious anecdote or the unexpected meaning, adds considerably to the verve and humor of Daniels' reporting but not to its total clarity. Why, for example, spend so much time on the myths that have grown up around Huey Long's death and pay such scant attention to Huey's living, lusty heirs whose crimes against the state treasury are nearly equal to their violent sins against organized labor?

Romanticism accounts for some of this confusion, regionalism for more of it. The author admired David Lilienthal and TVA itself—although detesting the town of Norris ("a town created without pain")—but, in general, planners, reformers, Communists, and Socialists are as distasteful to him as carpetbaggers. "As a people," he states with pride, "we would rather be robbed than improved." So, while revolted by lynchings and similar barbarisms, he devotes most of his comments on Scottsboro to denying that he saw in that vicinity any people who fitted Samuel Liebowitz's hideous description of the jury that decided against his clients. This is relevant to nothing but the author's anti-Yankee defensiveness. A Southerner may fairly point out that if Alabama has its Scottsboro boys, so has Massachusetts its Sacco and Vanzetti, or that Philadelphians who write to editors about the shacks they see in the South should take a trip through Philadelphia's slums, Suh. But obviously this is only the beginning of an answer. Likewise, if the South's problems have become part of the national problems of capitalism—as the internal evidence of Mr. Daniels' own account would indicate—it is no help to blame the Yankees or even the Southern patricians who have cooperated with them by putting "class above region." There is wisdom in many of the author's suggestions: lessening of Northern advantages in freight-rate differentials and tariffs; careful planning (by Southerners) to develop the South's abundant resources; more public welfare, public health, and, above all, more education. The trouble with these things is that they are not enough.

BARBARA GILES.

★

BRIEF REVIEW

OSCAR WILDE—THE MAN—THE ARTIST—THE MARTYR, *by Boris Brasol. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.*

The number of books written about Oscar Wilde is amazing, but even more extraordinary is the badness of most of them. Mr. Brasol, though he is late in entering the field, has a strong claim to the honor of having written the worst. The pretense of frankness is one of the favorite devices of mediocrity, and Mr. Brasol announces his determination to tell all. Actually, however, he tells nothing that is not well known, and his comments on Wilde's homosexuality are distinguished equally by ignorance and vulgarity.

For the rest, the book is inept and pretentious. Only lengthy quotation could suggest the flamboyant grotesqueness of Mr. Brasol's style, and his judgments are wrong wherever error is possible. In the appendix there is a good chronological outline of Wilde's life and a fair bibliography—neither, one suspects on internal evidence, compiled by Mr. Brasol.

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MOVIES

MASTER MICKEY ROONEY, along with Shirley Temple, Mickey Mouse (no relation), and Robert Taylor, is one of the cinema juveniles whose winning presence keeps the crowd coming. When their elders fail, Hollywood's tots will keep the flag flying. In *Love Finds Andy Hardy,* fourth volume of MGM's five-foot shelf of domestic problems, Andy meets love, a used car dealer named Peter Dugan (no relation), and comes to final triumph at the Christmas dance when Judy Garland, his third best girl, turns out to be the belle of the ball.

The plot is as slender as that, although the details are piled on with a delightful emphasis. Master Rooney makes up for his lack of range by a projection that reminds you of Cagney. The elderly folk around me at the Capitol took a paternal delight in his presence.

The Hardy family is the only Hollywood tribe which has resisted the screwball behavior fashionable with film comedy. Perhaps they only seem normal in the comparison. At any rate, there is more of a hint of genuine family life than you will discover in a year of celluloid. Of course, the Hardys are well off, live on a nice residential row, and the old man's a judge, but the domestic familiarities of the story are convincing for all of that.

Pompey, tote the master another mint julep out there under the swamp oak, whilst I write a letter off to Hollywood. Keep the flies off your master with that fan, Edalia, the old colonel must be undisturbed.

Paramount Pictures
Hollywood, Calif.

Sirs: May I take this opportunity to thank you for the noble assistance you have given the cause of the Confederacy in your motion picture, *The Texans.* The scenes of the horrors of Reconstruction days have not been matched since *The Birth of a Nation* by my cherished compatriot, the Rev. Thomas Dixon. The way you show the besotted carpetbaggers and the damnable scum that sullied the honor of Southern womanhood, sirs, was a great delight and an answer to the damnyankee historians. Your picture will be of inestimable help in stirring up feeling against the North.

The characterization of Isaiah Middlebrack, the contumelious political trash from the North, who acted as provisional governor of Texas, is a great contribution to our cause. Also the grafting nature of the army of occupation was shown in its true light. The South, sirs, was bested in an unfair fight. If there had been a Chamberlain government in England, to intervene on the rebel side as they now are in Spain, the story might have been different. As it was, the damnyankees forced

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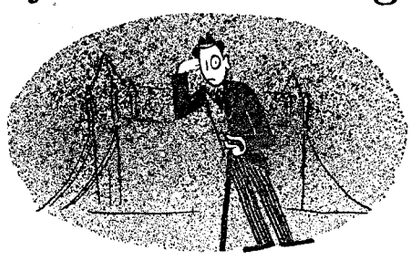

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The SUB SELLER

CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECT . . . Shouldn't Hollywood resent Robert Forsythe's slur on its culture in his last week's page? Forsythe should know that NM subscriptions in that "uncultured corner" are second in number only to New York City. Or should we feel hurt that in that far-west center of intelligence and talent the subs aren't ten times as many?

PLUTOCRATS OF THE BREAKFAST TABLE . . . Page Charles Bedaux for the waste at that "Straight Thinkers" breakfast, when sixty big shot sales, research and management executives paid $10 for ham and eggs and a lot of fancy talk about how to think straight. For ten bucks each one could have bought one NM sub for himself and one for his secretary, with copies of *I Like America* attached, and had a dollar left over for a pretty good breakfast even at the Commodore.

CRIME DOES NOT PAY??? . . . This is the kind of "straight thinking" methinks that's responsible for the growing tendency on the part of big agencies to do public relations dirty work for big business. Two claims to fame of Don Francisco, new head of Lord & Thomas, are the campaigns that defeated Upton Sinclair for governor and repealed the chain store sales tax in California.

But the Don Franciscos can't do all the work themselves, and if the hired help really does think straight it won't be so easy for agencies to deliver the middle class into their eager clients' hands.

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Sub Editor

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their form of government on the South. It takes a long time for justice to be done, but I assure you, gentlemen that your film *The Texans* will help.

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When the Comanches petitioned the wagon train for just one of the ten thousand head of cattle because they were hungry, the haughty manner in which they were dismissed by the scout was another instance of the aristocratic code of our kind triumphing in the wilderness.

Every one of us thrilled when the rebel officer conspired with Emperor Maximilian of Mexico to raise an army and free the South. Another keen thought was the way you showed the United States Cavalry to be incorruptible in the midst of the rapine of the carpetbagging politicians.

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Thanking you again, esteemed sirs, I am, your obedient servant,

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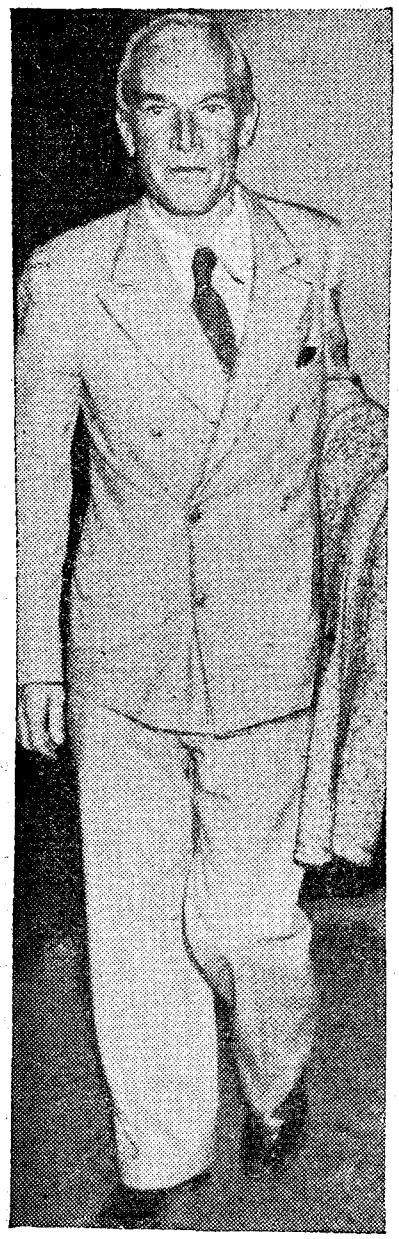

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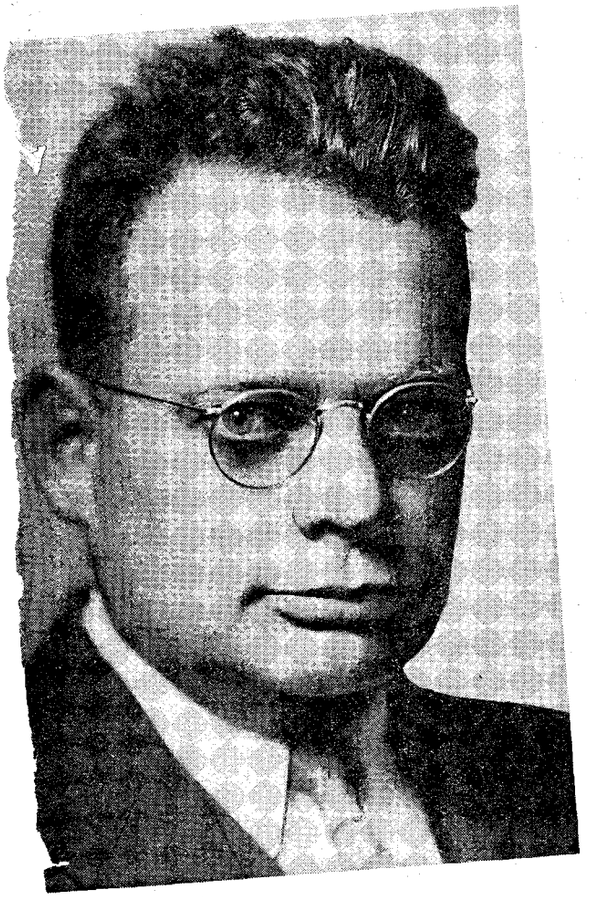

MAURY MAVERICK

eated in Texas by a margin of 475 votes
n middle-class districts. He warns: "The
ent-thinking people of this country had
er get red hot for the liberals who still
: races. Take a squint at how and what
· did to me. . . . Get rid of political ma-
ıes, Democrat or Republican, wherever
v are."

IT WAS NOT uneducated, machine-controlled voters who defeated Maury Maverick in Texas. It was the "silk stocking" middle-class districts, who previously voted for him and should have known better now than to vote against themselves. They would have known better had they taken the trouble to understand where their own interests lay.

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